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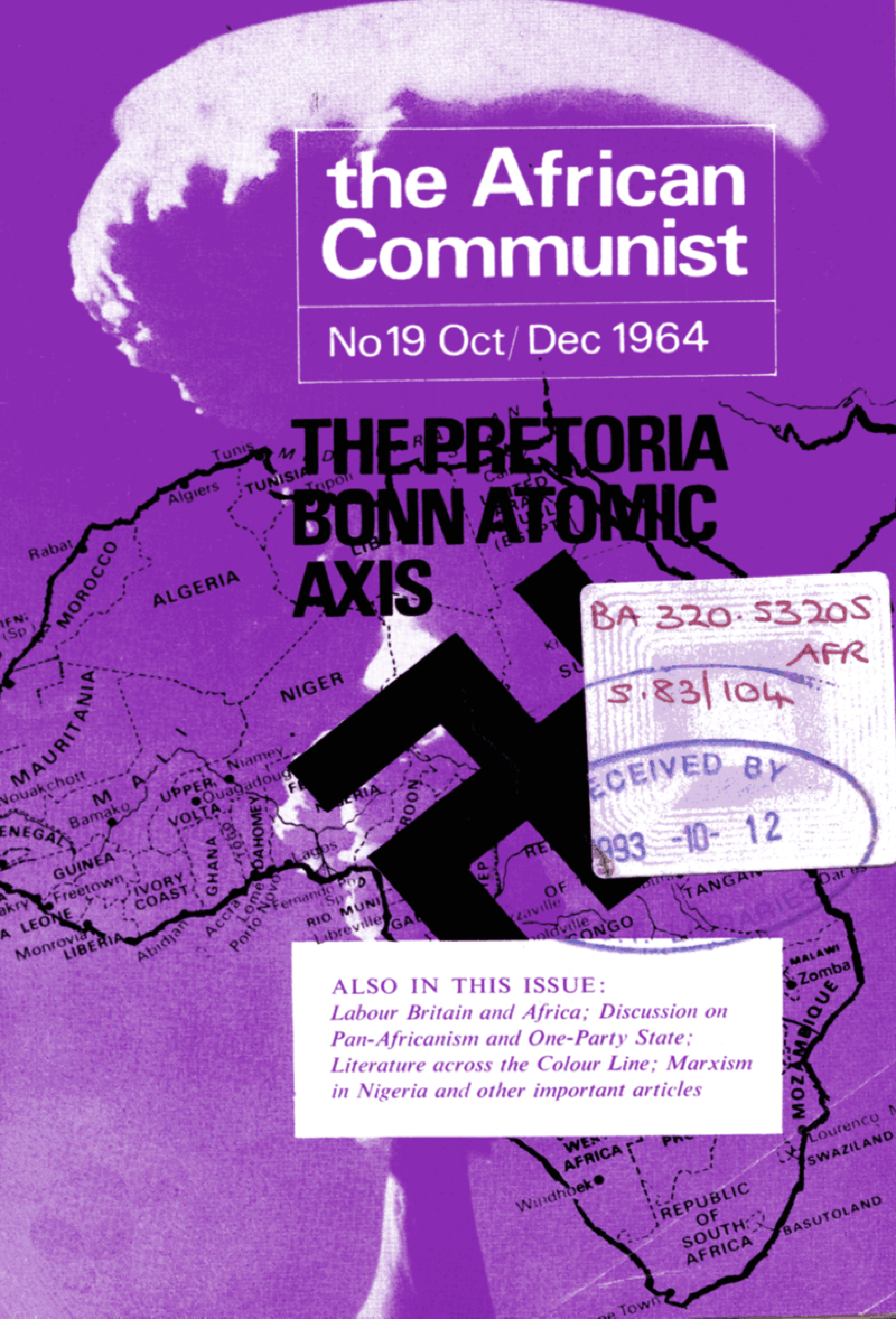
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ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:
Labour Britain and Africa; Discussion on Pan-Africanism and One-Party State; Literature across the Colour Line; Marxism in Nigeria and other important articles

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EDITORIAL

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THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

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No 19 October-December 1964

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THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA—

a Spearhead of Freedom

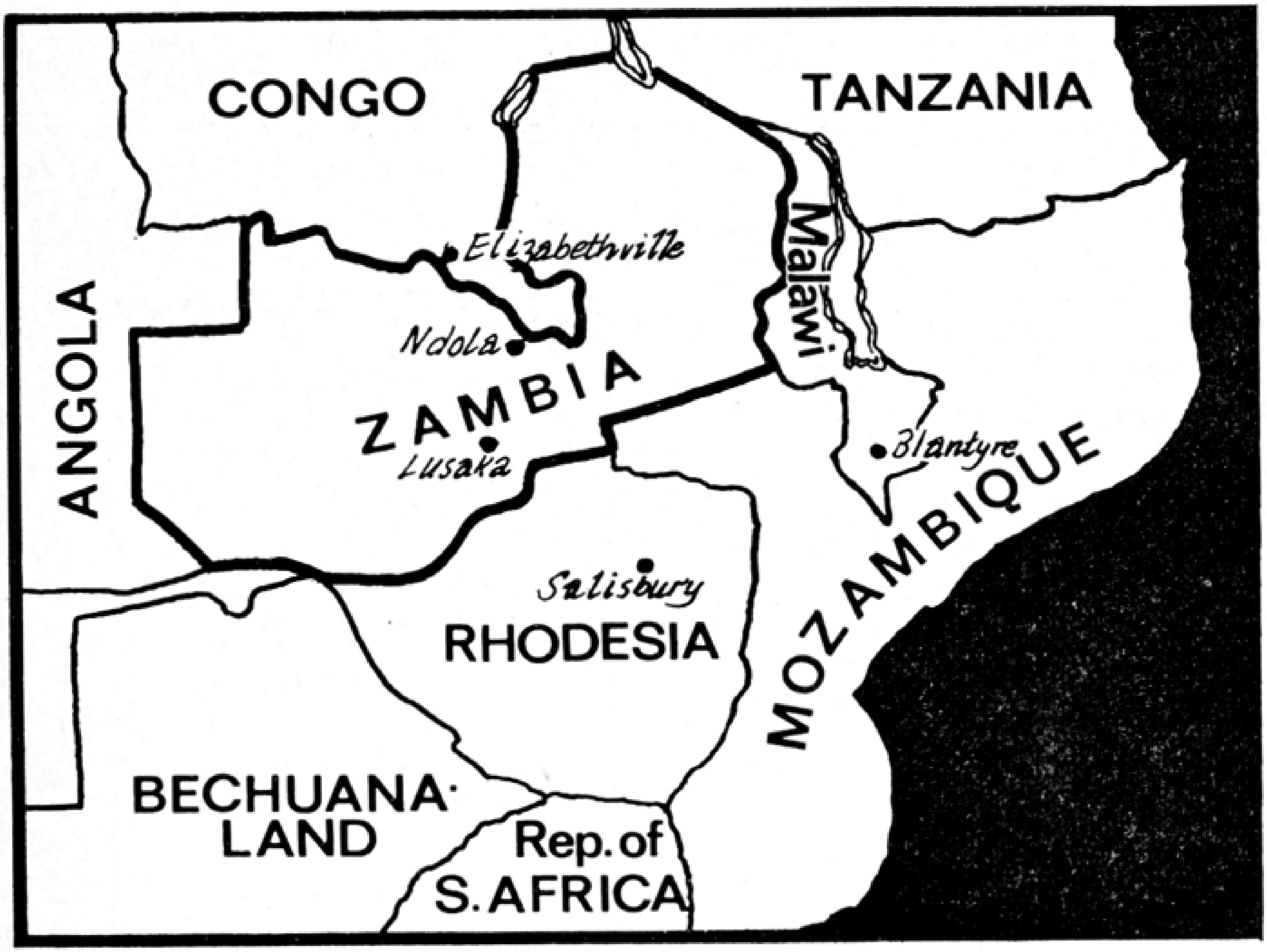
Zambia, youngest of the family of independent African states, carries with its birth the hopes and aspirations of all Africa; for, geographically speaking, it bears the banner of African freedom to the very gates of the remaining strongholds of colonialism and white domination.

A glance at the sketch-map shows how this new island of freedom is almost entirely surrounded by the enemies of freedom.

To the *North* is the storm-swept Congo, where the imperialist agent Tshombe can only suppress the patriots with the help of white apartheid troops from South Africa and United States dollars and arms.

East and *West* are Mozambique and Angola where—by mass murder and terror against our people—the Portuguese fascists hold vast areas of African soil.

South, across the Zambesi lies what remains of 'Rhodesia'; following Verwoerd's and Vorster's techniques Field and the small minority of white settlers have made the country into a concentration camp and rely on the Republic and Tory elements in Britain to hang on to power.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Elizabethville
Malawi
Ndola
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
Lusaka
Blantyre
MOZAMBIQUE
Salisbury
RHODESIA
BECHUANA-LAND
Rep. of S. AFRICA

Also in the South, with a short common frontier, is the British 'protectorate' of Bechuanaland.

The new Zambia government will need to exercise all the qualities of toughness and vigilance which President Kaunda and his colleagues have shown in the hard struggle for liberation; and they will also need the fullest backing from the rest of Free Africa. They can expect little from neighbouring Malawi, as long as that egoistic pro-imperialist Dr. Banda is in charge. But there are good and reliable friends in the North-East, in the popular government of Tanzania—the new union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar—and in all the free African states elsewhere—and, above all among the masses in the enslaved lands bordering Zambia.

No doubt Salazar, Field, Verwoerd and Tshombe are upset at the advent of Zambia—a spearhead of freedom thrust into the heart of colonial slavery. But the masses of Mashona and Matabele people of Zimbabwe, the enslaved people of Mozambique and Angola, the South Africans, the Batswana—all the people of Southern Africa—rejoice at the birth of the Republic of Zambia. The frontiers of African freedom have advanced to their borders, filling them with fresh inspiration and confidence.

MINI, KHAYINGA, MKABA.

ON NOVEMBER 6th, 1964, after the Editorial Notes of this issue of our journal had been printed, the Verwoerd government hanged these three working men of Port Elizabeth. U Thant, United Nations General Secretary, had pleaded for clemency. Representatives of millions of dockers and other trade unionists the world over had begged that the death sentences be set aside. Verwoerd and Vorster spat in the face of world opinion. Nothing would satisfy them but the blood of the three African patriots.

Brothers Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba died as they had lived, as African soldiers dedicated to freedom's cause. They will be remembered by our children and our children's children in the free South Africa for which they paid the ultimate sacrifice. Their names will inspire thousands of new patriots to come forward in the struggle, to fight with greater passion and devotion, to speed the day when the slavery of apartheid is destroyed and their murderers are brought to justice.

EDITORIAL NOTES

SOUTH AFRICA, A Torture Chamber

HISTORY HAS BROUGHT our beautiful country South Africa into the grip of a gang of ruthless Nazi murderers and torturers, headed by Verwoerd and Vorster, the pupils and followers of Hitler and Himmler. Thousands of the best men and women of our country are in jails and prison camps, have been tortured, house-arrested, gagged, exiled. Many have faced and some still face the gallows.

As we write these lines Vuyisile Mini, dockers' leader, and his brave companions, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakhele Mkaba face death by hanging. Their appeal has been rejected; only the slender hope that the voice of countless millions of freedom-loving people, trade unionists and democrats of the world will cause sanity and clemency to prevail in Pretoria can save them from the hangman's noose. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, undergoing lifetime sentences on the hell-camp of Robben Island, and many other resistance heroes there and elsewhere are daily subjected to the brutality of a score of jails whose authorities treat them not as political prisoners but as worse than ordinary criminals.

The tireless defender of the famous Lutuli treason trial, of the Rivonia trial, and innumerable other political cases, Advocate Abram

Fischer, Q.C., is now himself arrested, to face together with a dozen others, charges of continuing the illegal Communist Party.

The scandal of torture in South African prisons is such that the authorities can no longer hush it up. They have learnt from the scum of the Gestapo and the O.A.S., who have found refuge in our country from the punishment they deserve as criminals against humanity, the subtle and sinister art of destroying human beings. Prisoners are beaten and subjected to electric shocks with equipment provided by the state. They are suffocated, with their heads in canvas bags. They are subjected to psychological torture by weeks and months of solitary confinement, in small cells, without a chance to read or write or talk to anyone, without knowing the time of day or night. They are compelled to stand within a chalked square, to answer relays of special branch inquisitors for forty hours or more without a break; if they collapse they are revived by cold water thrown into their faces.

For generations to come, South Africans will remember the hundreds of brave men and women who refused to break under such treatment, whose love for and confidence in their people, and whose contempt for the barbarous fascist torturers, gave them the strength to stand up under every torture and refuse to betray themselves, their cause and their comrades. Our people will never forget those like 'Looksmart' Solwandle Ngudle and Suliman 'Babla' Saloojee who took their own lives rather than break down and become informers.

There were others who did not stand firm, who turned Judas. Julius Fucik, great Czech revolutionary, pierced to the heart of such people in his immortal *Report from the Gallows*, writing of Mirek who betrayed him and others.

'. . . To think that this had been a fellow with guts, who had not been scared by bullets . . . Now he had paled before the rod in the hands of the Gestapo and ratted to save his own skin. How superficial was his courage if a few blows could rub it away As superficial as his convictions. He had been strong in a crowd when surrounded by comrades who thought as he did. He had been strong because he thought of them. Now, isolated, alone, hard-pressed by the enemy, he had lost his strength entirely. He had lost everything because he had begun to think of himself. To save his own skin he had sacrificed his comrades. He had given way to cowardice and out of cowardice had turned traitor.

'He did not say that it was better to die than to decipher the material they found on him. He deciphered it. He gave them names. He gave them the address of an underground flat. He brought Gestapo agents to a meeting . . . He told them all . . .

'*A coward loses more than his own life. He has lost. He had deserted a glorious army and earned the contempt of the foulest of enemies. And even alive—he no longer lived; because he had expelled himself from the collective . . .*'

Yes, there are such people in South Africa as well, those who, even alive, no longer live. Like every great people's struggle, ours has provided some cowards and deserters, as well as many, many, some well known and some little known, who have stood firm in every trial and proved worthy sons and daughters of our people and of our noble cause.

THE DAY OF RECKONING

The people have long memories; nothing shall be forgotten when the day of reckoning comes. Neither those who fought loyally nor those who deserted; neither the torturers and the executioners of the South African people, and those who backed them up abroad, in London and New York, in Bonn and Paris and Tokyo; nor our friends and allies, our African brothers to the North, our staunch comrades in the socialist countries, in the Asian countries, on the docks of Scandinavia and Australia, our innumerable well-wishers in every land.

And that day of reckoning will come, for Verwoerd and his backers are fighting a losing battle against the entire trend and current of South African, African and world historical development. Within the country itself, despite the huge machinery of repression, the struggle continues, with underground forces regrouping themselves and learning the bitter lessons of experience; with fresh strikes breaking out, like that of the African miners at Krugersdorp, quelled by Saracens; with the glaring contrast between mass poverty and the ostentatious wealth of the few giving rise, inevitably, to new outbreaks of social unrest.

Internationally, apartheid is suffering from one devastating blow after another, ranging from the exclusion from the Olympic Games, with all its glaring publicity, to the international movement for sanctions, gathering steady momentum, the sharp denunciation of the non-aligned nations conference at Cairo, the trial of Verwoerd and his accomplices on charges of crimes against humanity which was inaugurated recently at the preparatory Youth Forum session in Moscow.

The burden of the essential task of eliminating this obscenity of apartheid from the African continent and the world, falls naturally, in the first place on the brave freedom fighters of our country themselves. They have made and are making the greatest sacrifices in this struggle; they will not rest until it is carried through to victory, whatever the price. We do not deceive ourselves that it will be a short or an easy victory. There cannot be any doubt that it will be bitter, protracted and bloody. It will take many forms. It calls for the dangerous, thankless work of illegal organization of workers and peasants for their daily demands. It calls for illegal means of conveying information to pierce the barrier of fascist propaganda by which the government tries to hide the truth from the people and fill them with terror and despair. It calls for mass actions, non-violent and violent. Vorster's Nazi methods of 'frightfulness' have failed, and will increasingly fail, to crush this ever-mounting epic of resistance.

But, just as Verwoerd and his accomplices rely heavily on their overseas backers, in the imperialist countries, to keep themselves in the saddle, and just as those backers, to serve their insatiable greed for gold and profits pour an unceasing stream of aid, arms and capital into South Africa, so the forces of South African freedom need help from their innumerable friends abroad. And grateful as all South African oppressed and working people are for the splendid gestures of solidarity being made overseas and elsewhere in Africa, it is time to say quite frankly: *it is not enough.*

It is not enough to pass good resolutions at the United Nations banning arms for Verwoerd—when quite openly and blatantly Britain, France and West Germany are ignoring the ban, pouring in munitions to shoot down our people, and establishing an entire self-contained arms industry in the Republic of South Africa.

It is not enough to pass decisions about sanctions, when even some friendly countries ignore it, and nothing is done to penalize imperialist countries and firms who nullify the effects of the boycott by stepping up their trade and their contacts with this murderous regime.

Only positive and tangible aid now can appreciably cut shorter the anguish and suffering of our people, and lessen the cost in blood and sacrifice which are needed to achieve the downfall of the apartheid state and the speeding of the inevitable day of reckoning.

TO OUR AFRICAN BROTHERS

For several years now, the African National Congress and other liberation movements of South Africa have appealed to the peoples and independent states of Free Africa for solidarity and aid in our struggle to liberate the Slave South. From many peoples and states, such solidarity has been generously forthcoming. Many African leaders, such as President Nyerere, Emperor Haile Selassie, President Nasser, President Ben Bella, President Nkrumah and many others, have said to us South Africans 'Your cause is ours'—and they have backed up these words with deeds.

When they said 'Your cause is ours' they spoke truer than, perhaps, they knew. It was meant in a broad, general sense, and true enough. For Africa is not free, nor is any African anywhere free, so long as our country, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and other areas are in chains. And African Unity, our dearest wish, remains a dream while it excludes such crucial areas in the South.

But our cause is the cause of all Africa in a much more real, urgent and immediate sense than we perhaps realized when we expressed these noble sentiments. In this issue of *The African Communist* we publish an important document issued by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic, which deserves the most careful and conscious reading by every African patriot, throughout our Continent. It shows that, with the aid of neo-Nazi circles in West Germany, the Government of the Republic of South Africa is building up a military striking force, to be equipped with atomic weapons, poison gas and long-range missiles.

This force is not only intended to subdue rebellion in South Africa.

It is controlled by fanatical racialists, enemies of the African people who hate and despise us and fear our advance. They would like nothing better than to set back the clock of history and subject all Africa once again to white domination.

Dear brothers, ask yourselves one simple question: against whom is this striking force intended, these atom bombs and poisoned missiles?

Apartheid has long been recognized as an abomination and an offence to human dignity. But, more than that, it is a most terrible danger to Africa, to human life everywhere in our continent, to world peace.

We know that much has been done to awaken world opinion, and to mobilize African action, against apartheid. But, in the light of the facts which are here revealed, and their implications which face every African man and woman with the stark alternatives of slavery or death—ask yourselves: has enough been done? Is enough being done? Are we moving fast enough, unitedly enough, consciously enough?

We have said, often, that apartheid and African independence cannot co-exist on the same continent. Have we considered with sufficient clarity that this is literally true? Have we thought that when Tshombe brings Verwoerd troops into the heart of Africa he is bringing death closer to our homes and our dear ones?

The revelations in the article we publish are not 'propaganda'; they are hard facts. They require not only indignation: they require action. Action against the Verwoerd regime—and against the friends and allies of that regime, whether they are in Bonn or London, in Paris, Tokyo or New York.

It is time for every African state to speak plainly to these gentlemen: **The apartheid state is the enemy of Africa. And he who helps the enemy is also our enemy.**

LABOUR BRITAIN AND AFRICA

No one in Africa except the likes of Verwoerd and Tshombe will regret the defeat of the Tory Party by the Labour Party in the British General Elections. British policy towards Africa, under the Conservatives, has been a disgrace, and we have every right and every reason to expect a more progressive and sympathetic attitude from the leaders of a party which claims to be socialist. But optimism, here, must be somewhat qualified and cautious; we have not forgotten that it was the new Labour Foreign Secretary, Mr. Gordon Walker, who treated

BOYCOTT APARTHEID!

The following is the text of the historic Resolution adopted unanimously by the Ninety-Sixth Annual Trade Union Congress held at Blackpool from September 7 to 11, 1964.

SOUTH AFRICA

THIS CONGRESS condemns the vile system of apartheid in South Africa based on mass repression, large scale arrests, the banning and exile of national and trade union leaders, and the imprisonment of people without charge or trial, and calls on the British Government to implement a diplomatic, economic and arms boycott of South Africa in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly.

It further calls on the General Council to use their influence to ensure that an international boycott of South African goods be carried out by organized workers as recommended by the I.C.F.T.U. until the South African Government concedes the principle of free speech and a franchise which allows all men and women to vote freely for their chosen representative to Parliament, and allows the African workers to organize trade unions and negotiate wage agreements and conditions.

Moved by
Amalgamated Engineering Union.
Seconded by
Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen & Bargemen's Union.

Seretse Khama so shabbily in order to pander to apartheid feelings in Pretoria. We know that there are many friends of African freedom in the Labour Party; South Africans in particular, of all shades of democratic opinion, will rejoice at the appointment of Mrs. Barbara Castle, that fiery anti-apartheid leader, to Cabinet rank. Indeed the Labour Party itself as well as the Trade Union Congress have on many occasions criticized the mealy-mouthed hypocrisy of the Tory government which condemns apartheid in words and backs it in deeds, especially on the issue of supplying arms to the Verwoerd regime.

But, now it is in office, it is the Labour Party's own deeds, rather than its words, which will count. And the acid test of Labour's integrity and sincerity will be its Africa policy.

The dying Conservative government has bequeathed to Mr. Wilson's administration a number of crucially important policy decisions on Africa, which it was too cowardly to tackle itself, and whose resolution cannot be delayed.

Africa will expect quick, positive steps to repudiate the ugle farce now being performed in Zimbabwe, still officially Southern Rhodesia, in which the small white minority is trying to support its impudent claim to reinforce an apartheid regime by means of a 'referendum' on 'independence'. The voters in this comic-opera test of public opinion consist of the white minority together with a hand-picked selection of privileged Africans. The 'independence' consists of a licence to the whites to continue their unbridled oppression, exploitation and land robbery.

The Rhodesian delegation to London, on the eve of the elections, sought a blank cheque from Home which they hoped would commit the new Labour government. Instead of publicly rejecting the whole disgraceful proposal the Tory government agreed to an ambiguous communiqué, in which the whole problem was deferred for decision by its successors. Labour, if it hopes to retain African respect and goodwill, must lose no time whatever in announcing that the only acceptable 'independence' for Zimbabwe is one based on the democratic principle of 'one man, one vote'. And taking swift, effective steps to follow such a declaration in action.

It is much to be hoped, too, that the new administration in London will have a long hard look at the policy and activity of their mission in the Congo (Leopoldville). Dr. O'Brien has (in his inside-story account, *To Katanga and Back*) cast a glaring light on the questionable activities of the British representatives during the period when Mr. Tshombe was, allegedly on behalf of the cause of Katanga separatism, defying the central government and the United Nations.

Today, the same Tshombe, backed by the United States and other NATO powers, as well as by Verwoerd, is fighting the same battle to keep the Congo as a preserve of neo-colonialism. The African countries have already shown quite clearly their utter repudiation of this puppet administration. At the back of the terrible tale of treachery, murder and anguish in the Congo is the same factor which dominates the whole struggle for freedom in Central and Southern Africa—imperialist greed for the mineral wealth of Africa. The western imperialist governments have been guided in their policy in this part of the Continent by the interests of the powerful mining monopolies, not by the interests either of the African people or their own people. No sound or friendly relationships can be established on such a basis. Africa will judge the new Government in Westminster not by fine speeches at the United Nations, but according to whether it has the courage and the principle to break with the copper, diamond and gold millionaires.

LABOUR AND APARTHEID

Nowhere is this more true and relevant than of the Republic of South Africa. The whole world has cried out in anger and disgust against this fascist, racialist regime and has branded it as a threat to the peace and an outlaw. Britain's former spokesmen, with sickening hypocrisy, joined in the universal condemnation with pious words, but in practice the Tory regime did all in its power to nourish and sustain the apartheid state. Defying United Nations resolutions it has continued to supply arms to defend apartheid. Scabbing on the growing boycott movement, it has extended its investments, trade, diplomatic and other relations.

We trust the new Labour government will lose no time whatever in reversing this outrageous policy, which has damaged Britain's standing and relations with Africa and the rest of the world, almost as much as it has harmed the cause of South African freedom. Mr. Wilson has pledged that a Labour government will cut off arms supplies to Verwoerd. The recent Trade Union Congress Conference at Blackpool went on record for British participation in world sanctions against apartheid. Speaking in the debate, Mr. Frank Cousins, secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and now Minister of Technology, said:

> *You must insist that we vote for a Labour government. We must get people in who will discontinue this governmental trading with South Africa . . . If, almost immediately after this new Labour government have taken hold, they introduce economic sanctions against South Africa in fulfilment of the United Nations decision and the ICFTU decision, you must not let them down. The dockers will not let you down.*

The workers did not let the Labour Party down: they elected them to office. We trust Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cousins and their colleagues will lose no time in keeping their side of the undertaking.

THE 'PROTECTORATES'

An immediate and crucial test of the Labour Government's goodwill and intentions in Southern Africa will be its attitude and policy towards the Republic's small neighbours, the British-ruled High Commission Territories or 'Protectorates'. If the latter term has any meaning, it should imply an undertaking to preserve and maintain the independence and integrity of these territories against the constant menace of domination, aggression and eventual incorporation by the expansionist, imperialist regime across the border. Instead, previous administrations in London have undermined the independence of these countries, stifled their development, disarmed them, refused to allow them to build their own defence forces, while systematically appeasing Pretoria. To please Pretoria and the powerful British investors who have a thousand million sterling at stake in the Republic, Britain has kept Lesotho, Swaziland and Bechuanaland backward and dependent labour farms for the Rand mines, denied them independence, and maintained in Bechuanaland and Swaziland many of the features of apartheid. Time and again Vorster's fascist police thugs have been permitted to carry out terroristic activities, including kidnappings (the recent case of Mrs. Wentzel snatched from Swaziland is particularly flagrant) without check or reprisals.

Why, we want to know, were the Swaziland authorities unable to establish that Mrs. Wentzel was kidnapped—when everyone in the territory and in the Republic for that matter knows she was? Why was Mr. Sidney Kitching, a British subject, declared a prohibited immigrant, after innumerable acts of petty persecution and victimisation by Swaziland officialdom had failed to make him quit voluntarily? Why were similar prohibitions imposed on Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, Mr. Harmel, Mr. Nokwe and many others in Bechuanaland—when, as everyone knows, pro-apartheid South Africans are permitted not only to reside but also to play a vigorous part, as fifth-columnists, in the politics of these countries? Why are 'constitutions' imposed on Bechuanaland and Swaziland that fly in the face of every democratic principle; give wholly disproportionate representation to white settlers—mostly citizens of the Republic and 'refugees' from democracy in East Africa—and differ only in degree from the constitutions of S. Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa? Why is nothing done to investigate and put a stop to terrorism and attempted political murders of patriots (for example, the attacks on Matthews, Motloheloa and others in Lesotho, the sabotage of the Goldreich-Wolpe plane at Francistown) with the connivance of the special branch of the South African police?

We could ask a good many more awkward questions of this type. Why, in line with apartheid practice in the Republic, are Asians refused, on racial grounds, residence in Swaziland? Why, years after South Africa was excluded from the Commonwealth, has Bechuanaland to tolerate being the only country in the world to have its capital, Mafeking, on foreign soil? Why are progressive publications, including this journal, prohibited in Lesotho—while fascist publications like *Die Transvaler* and *Die Vaderland* pour in freely every day?

To answer these questions—and to evolve a truly workable and honourable policy—searching and radical enquiry is needed. This is a question of grave urgency, for the situation is dangerous and deteriorating. Any such enquiry should be completely independent of the so-called experts at the Colonial Office and the bureaucrats they have appointed in the territories. Africans are convinced that these elements are deeply involved in the disgraceful pro-apartheid policy of appeasement which has hitherto prevailed.

A SAD FAREWELL

Since our last issue appeared, the world has become the poorer by the death of many staunch leaders of the working class who played foremost parts in the world-wide struggle for human emancipation.

We lower our banners in salute to such Communists as Palmiro Togliatti of Italy and Maurice Thorez of France, for many years famous as leaders not only of the working class in their own countries, but also of the Communist International. The people of the German Democratic Republic have lost their veteran President Otto Grotewohl, and the Polish people suffered a heavy blow in the death of Comrade Zawadski.

The brave Communists of the United States have also suffered a sad loss in the deaths of the veteran militant Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and the famous African-descended American workers' leader Benjamin Davis.

Like many in Africa, we of *The African Communist* feel we have lost a very special friend in Professor Ivan Potekhin, Director of the Moscow Institute of African Studies, whose always stimulating analyses have been printed in past issues of our journal. In what must have been one of his very last communications, he wrote to this journal in September, in connection with his article 'Pan-Africanism and the

Struggle of the Two Ideologies'. 'I hope that your readers will read it with great interest,' he wrote.

We are glad to publish it in this issue, as a tribute to the memory of a fellow-fighter for the liberation of Africa.

Finally, we sadly lower our banners in tribute to Desmond Buckle, pioneer African Marxist, fine journalist, and tireless fighter for freedom. A Ghanaian, Comrade Buckle lived for many years in England, and was an active and highly respected member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. He had close ties with South Africa, and represented the former Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions at international trade union conferences. His article on economic developments in the United Arab Republic appeared in the last issue of this journal; it was one of his last articles and he was already fatally ill when he wrote it.

Who Backs Tshombe?

MR. TSHOMBE is Prime Minister of the Congo today largely by the grace of Belgian civilian and military assistance and South African volunteers.

—*The Times*, London,
October 22nd, 1964

DANGER TO AFRICA

THE WEST GERMAN Federal Republic and the racialist Verwoerd regime in the Republic of South Africa are co-operating closely in making South Africa a military centre capable of bringing pressure to bear upon, and militarily threatening, large and decisive areas of Africa with the help of modern highly mobile fighting units and modern weapons.

The West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa are co-operating to prepare the production in South Africa of atomic bombs, chemical weapons, and guided missiles, so that both states may have the unlimited and unsupervised use of these weapons. The pilot plant for the experimental production of fissionable uranium and nuclear fuel is already working. The first atom reactor will soon be ready. Preparations have been made for large-scale production, camouflaged as a nuclear-power programme.

The leading members of the Government of the Republic of South Africa are old collaborators with the German imperialists and colonialists; they were trusted followers of Hitler. The West German Government has resumed the old links which German imperialism had with South Africa, and is carefully extending them.

Modern military organizational forms, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and missiles in the hands of the West German revenge-seekers and South African racialists are a grave danger to world peace; to the independence of the peoples and their right of self-determination, particularly in Africa; and to the national liberation movement in those countries in Africa still under colonial oppression.

I. MILITARY CO-OPERATION

The treaty basis for military co-operation between the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa was provided by a secret agreement concluded in Bonn in July 1961. At this time the Verwoerd regime in South Africa was in a difficult internal and foreign situation owing to international horror at the Sharpeville Massacre, United Nations decisions on Apartheid, and South Africa's departure from the British Commonwealth. It sought help and support, and found it in the West German Federal Republic; members of the Verwoerd regime had had close political, ideological, economic and also military relations with leading persons in West Germany for years, sometimes for decades.

From July 11th to July 14th, 1961, J. J. Fouché, Defence Minister of the Republic of South Africa; Mr. de Villiers, his Secretary of State; and Commandant-General P. H. Grobbelaar, commander-in-chief of the South African army, negotiated in Bonn with Volkmar Hopf, State Secretary in the West German Ministry of Defence, and the closest associate of Franz-Josef Strauss, at that time Minister of Defence. There were parallel talks at NATO H.Q. in Paris. Hopf is particularly known because of his part in arms contract scandals in West Germany and his close relations with Franco Spain, and Salazar's Portugal.

In his final talks with Heinrich von Brentano, West German Foreign Minister, it was decided to keep the agreement secret in order to prevent dangerous reactions both in the independent African states and also in Britain, France and the U.S.A. For the same reason the planned visit of Prime Minister Verwoerd, demonstratively scheduled to follow South Africa's leaving the Commonwealth, was cancelled. When the *S.P.D. Pressedienst* reported that there were 'persistent rumours' about the Fouché negotiations in Bonn, the West German Defence Ministry issued a *démenti* stating it had heard nothing of such rumours.

> (*Associated Press*, July 7th; *Die Welt*, July 12th and 15th; *Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, July 21st; *Afrika-Post*, No. 5, August 1961).

The task of implementing the secret agreement in South Africa was entrusted by the West German Defence Ministry to *Major-General Friedrich Wilhelm von Mellenthin,* a military expert on Africa and former member of the General Staff of Hitler's Wehrmacht. He was already living in Johannesburg in South Africa, and had done important preliminary work.

MELLENTHIN

Mellenthin, who was born on August 30th, 1904, in Breslau, comes from an old Prussian officer's family. He served as a Captain on the

General Staff, and member of the War Academy. His colleague, Major Friedrich Foertsch, later a general, was sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment in the Soviet Union for war crimes. After his return to West Germany Foertsch was appointed Inspector-General, that is to say Commander in Chief of the Bundeswehr, the West German Army. Foertsch's successor, General Trettner, was also a colleague of Mellenthin on the General Staff, and stands accused of committing war crimes in Italy.

Mellenthin is an internationally known military theoretician. His book *Panzer Battles* has been published in a number of languages and is used as a training manual for experts. Mellenthin's attitude today toward his activities on Hitler's General Staff is shown by the fact that the English edition of the book publishes a picture showing him in confidential talks with Hitler.

During the second world war Mellenthin won experience as a general staff officer in various field of war. During the entire North African campaign he served as general staff officer of the Afrika Korps responsible for intelligence and counter-espionage.

His close contacts with the present rulers of South Africa, who were then working for Nazi intelligence, date from this period. The files of the Nazi Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Akten betr. 'Afrika', Vol. 1, London P.R.O., Washington D.C., Bonn Ser. Nr. 540, S. 240 539 ff.) contain a top secret report dated August 6th, 1940, stating that the 'Ossewa Brandwag' organization had reported via Lourenco Marques (Mocambique) that it was ready to rise against the Smuts Government, which was at war with Nazi Germany, with its 160,000 members and 15,000 soldiers. Ossewa Brandwag was a para-military organization similar to the Nazi Storm Troops. Many of Verwoerd's present ministers were members. The Ossewa Brandwag requested active German support, particularly supplies of weapons, and gave details of its plans for a rising. The leadership of the Ossewa Brandwag reported that it awaited 'the further dispositions of the German military leadership', and gave detailed espionage information about the strength, stationing and armament of the South African army.

Many of the officers who worked with Mellenthin on the General Staff were executed later in the war for their part in the officers' putsch against Hitler on July 20th, 1944. Mellenthin, however, was promoted to Major General in autumn 1944 for his services to the Nazi regime.

After the war the old Nazi agents of the National Party came to power in South Africa and in 1950 Mellenthin was sent there on a special mission. Using a traditional method of the German General Staff to conceal his intelligence activities, he founded an air transport company, 'Trek Airways', which became the biggest private air company in the country. (*Industriekurier*, Dusseldorf, May 25th, 1961, special South Africa supplement).

For helpers Mellenthin could draw on the reservoir of over 2,000 Wehrmacht officers and S.S. officers who, fearing punishment for their war crimes had sought refuge in South Africa after 1945, and made new careers there, mostly under false names. In the years 1949-52 many of these men became officers and instructors in the South African army, and others were placed in key positions in the state and the economy.

With Mellenthin's help, such officers founded the South-African-German Flying Club, and Mellenthin himself was elected Honorary President. In a public speech Mellenthin addressed himself to the 'airmen of German descent' who were ready to defend South Africa, their new homeland. (*Afrika-Post*, No. 2, May 1958.)

In 1959-60 leading military figures in NATO, acting in collaboration with South African military circles, demanded that South Africa should be more closely linked with NATO, and that NATO should be supplemented by a closely-connected SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organisation). (See the theoretical NATO organ *Revue Militaire Générale*, Paris, No. 9, 1959, p. 457.) Mellenthin, nominally a private citizen, entered the public discussion with well-informed technical arguments and detailed suggestions. In September 1960 Mellenthin published an article entitled 'The military-political position of the countries and territories in the South African area' in *Afrika Post*, organ of German settlers in South Africa; editor of this paper is H. G. Thormeyer, Nazi journalist who formerly worked in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. In this article Mellenthin stressed that SATO was necessary mainly because of the 'unreliability' of the newly formed independent African states and their leaders. He stated:

'It is not hard to imagine a situation in which the dictator of such a native state should get into such a difficult position in internal policy that he would, as a safety valve, attack a neighbouring state in the South African area. A moral reason is not hard to find: the liberation of the black brother allegedly groaning under the domination of the whites . . .

'The first conclusion which the South African countries should draw from the unreliability of the young African states in the military field, is the formation of a SATO consisting of the Portuguese territories of Mocambique and Angola, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa . . .

'This SATO area is geographically a favourable defence unit, with the two flank points Mocambique and Angola . . .

'There must be a united leadership provided by a commander-in-chief with a mixed staff, similar to NATO. In addition, it must dispose over already existing mobilized mechanized units consisting of a few brigades; a professional army consisting only of cadres, which only mobilises its forces in an emergency, comes too late. These units must be fully trained and very flexible in close co-operation with available air transport.

'The political leadership of SATO must ensure that the budgets can meet the unavoidable extra costs connected with raising a "permanent striking power in existence", and that a generous immigration policy increases the reservoir of soldiers for the SATO forces . . .

'The formation of new independent states in Africa has changed the military situation not only for the South African area, but for the whole world. The West must realise that the military vacuum which has now been created, particularly in Central Africa, and the factor of uncertainty presented by the new native states, means that the South African states and territories are the only reliable allies upon whom the West can reckon in a crisis.'

Mellenthin concluded his military and political survey with the demand that South Africa should be given 'full moral and material support . . . as long as there is still peace'.

The successes of the national liberation movement and the formation of an increasing number of independent states in Africa have produced a situation in which the plans for SATO are no longer discussed publicly. But Mellenthin's military-theoretical conception of a 'permanent-striking power in existence' adapted to Africa formed the basis for the secret military agreement concluded in July 1961 between the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa.

THE 'DIRECTOR'

A few weeks before the conclusion of the secret agreement Mellenthin was summoned back to West Germany. In spring 1961 he sold his Trek Airways, and took for the time being a post as director of Lufthansa, the West German airline, in Cologne. This is conveniently near to Bonn. Lufthansa is jointly controlled by the Federal Government and by the Deutsche Bank, the biggest bank of West German monopoly capital. As an expert Mellenthin helped in the preparation of the secret agreement and in the negotiations. After the conclusion of the secret agreement Mellenthin returned to Johannesburg on November 1st, 1961, as 'General Director of Lufthansa for the African Continent'. (*Afrika-Post*, No. 1, April 1962.) He could now pursue on a far greater scale his 'hobby' of military-political research in the whole of Africa. At the same time he worked as confidential but influential military adviser to the South African Government, and his work in this field has been very fruitful since the 1961 secret negotiations. The White Book of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, published in June 1964, and the reports of the Special UN Commission of Apartheid (S. 5621, March 25th, 1964, p. 83 et seq.) show that the officially announced military budget of the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled between 1961 and 1964, and that in some important branches, such as ammunition, armoured vehicles, and particularly long-range planes and supersonic fighters, it has increased more than ten times. In September 1963, Defence Minister J. J. Fouché announced that South Africa had become practically self-sufficient in the arms and ammunition fields, and could answer an arms embargo by increasing home arms production. He claimed that South Africa no longer had the problem of requesting arms-makers in other countries to make arms in South Africa; now the problem was which offers to build arms factories should be accepted. (*South African Digest*, Pretoria, September 19th, 1963.)

South Africa obtained the necessary licences for this enormous increase in arms production in all large western industrial countries, including West Germany. West German arms firms such as Henschel, Siemens, and others have built branch factories in South Africa. More important is the fact that the South African arms industry is almost entirely controlled by the increasingly powerful Boer and state-monopoly trusts, which are closely linked with West German banks and monopolies. This entire development has aroused great interest, and the Special Apartheid Commission of the United Nations has repeatedly pointed out in its reports that the steadily growing military power of South Africa must one day have serious international consequences.

THE 'PERMANENT STRIKING FORCE'

Another fact has not hitherto been so closely observed: the fact that in accordance with one of Mellenthin's theories a very modern military organisation has been developed inside the South African army. Decisive key positions in this organisation are occupied by the friends of Mellenthin and his bosses, people whose co-operation with the West German imperialists dates back to the days of Ossewa Brandwag and the second world war.

Mellenthin demanded that the 'military vacuum' in Africa should be filled by the creation of a 'permanent striking power in existence', led by a commander-in-chief with a mixed staff, and consisting of a few mechanised brigades composed of fully-trained professional soldiers with the necessary air transport. This 'permanent striking power in existence' should be based in South Africa, and be ready for action at any time anywhere in Africa.

Just such an aggressive and flexible striking force, directed against the security of the independent states of Africa and the national liberation movements, has already been in existence for some time in the framework of the South Africa army, in accordance with Mellenthin's proposals. Units of the 'Commandos' were adapted to a new purpose. The 1963 Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa, in the course of a long statement on the modernization of the South African army reports that in this connection the number of immediately available professional soldiers has been considerably increased, an effective command structure has been created, that four independent fighting groups and a joint supreme command with the necessary liaison and chain of command installations have been established: in short that all the recommendations made by Mellenthin in 1960 have been put into effect.

The Memorandum of the African National Congress of South Africa addressed to the Second Summit Conference for African Unity on July 17th, 1964, gives details of this military co-operation between the Verwoerd regime and the oppressive forces in South Rhodesia, Angola and Mocambique.

The first attempt to use such 'Commandos' in Central Africa was the legion of mercenaries organized in Johannesburg to support Tshombe in the Congo. However, the reaction of the African states made the organizers cautious and the unit was camouflaged, like the Nazi Condor Legion in Spain. Self-organizing international foreign legionaries appeared in the foreground, and a smoke-screen of misleading declarations was laid by South African generals.

THE NETWORK THROUGH AFRICA

The real importance of such troops advised by a Nazi general and led by fanatical racialists and pupils of Hitler, only becomes clear when one studies the full military conception of West German - South African co-operation. West German military advisers, instructors, etc., are not only active under camouflage in South Africa, but also in the neighbouring Portuguese colonies, particularly in Angola. (*Ghanaian Times*, July 30th, 1964.)

In addition the West German Federal Republic has already concluded agreements with seven different African states, at all strategic points on the African continent, for the supply of military advisers, instructors, and other military aid. (*Daily Mail*, London, June 5th, 1964, and other sources.)

More than a year ago the West German M.P., Hans Merten, member of the Bundestag Committee for Advice on Military Aid, revealed in an interview with the *Neue Rheinzeitung* how the young African national states were being fooled. He said:

'These countries wish to have nothing more to do with the former colonial powers, and nothing to do with the world powers, because they fear they will thereby become dependent. For this reason some of them come to us. We always act in agreement with the relevant former colonial power and with the U.S.A.' (*Neue Rheinzeitung*, June 15th, 1963.)

This openly conceded and cynical swindle rounds off the picture of the dangerous neo-colonial plan which is the basis for the secret West German - South African military agreement: The creation of a network of military liaison points, centred on the reorganized South African Commandos, with the help of which pressure can be exerted at any time on the young national states. This plan is intended not only to make permanent the domination of the Verwoerd regime in South Africa and the Salazar regime in Angola and Mocambique; at the same time the neo-colonialist forces in Africa shall be supported with the help of the West German imperialists and colonialists, who do not have such an obviously colonialist reputation.

But this is not all. Under some circumstances it may be possible to fill the 'military vacuum' in Central Africa, of which Mellenthin speaks in typical Nazi style, with the aid of commando troops using conventional weapons and air transport. However, the growing strength and consolidation of the African states, and their unity, make the success of such an action difficult. Mellenthin's anti-African army of mercenaries will not suffice in every case against the national independence of the African states and the national armies of liberation. This makes for an even more intensive unity of interests between the South African Verwoerd clique and the West German militarists and revenge-seekers, who use similar arguments of a 'military vacuum' to oppose an atom-free zone in Central Europe, and who are pressing for unlimited West German control of nuclear weapons. At present they are attempting to obtain such weapons through the NATO multilateral nuclear fleet, and through General de Gaulle's 'force de frappe'.

At the same time they have been working systematically for years on preparations for the production in South Africa of ABC weapons (atomic, bacteriological, chemical) and for carrier missiles for such weapons.

2. ATOM BOMBS, POISON GASES, MISSILES

In autumn 1963 the most influential man in the West German Federal Republic, the banker Hermann Josef Abs, visited the Republic of

South Africa. The public reason for his visit was an invitation from Harry Oppenheimer, head of the gold and diamond trust, with whom, for the sake of form, Abs negotiated on the problem of gold prices.

But a busy man like Abs did not need to visit South Africa for several weeks just for this. The real reason for his visit was '*conversations with various government branches*' on '*certain plans in South Africa*', as Abs declared when he left Johannesburg. He refused to give details of these plans. (*Südafrika von Woche zu Woche*, official information bulletin of the South African Embassy, Cologne, No. 97, October 1st, 1963.)

The strikingly long conversations with various government branches held by Abs were mainly with Dr. N. Diederichs, Minister for Economic Affairs and Mines; J. F. W. Haak, at that time his deputy; and with Michiel H. de Kock. At that time Mr. de Kock was Governor of the South African Reserve Bank and President of the National Finance Corporation; since then he has become a member of the Board of Directors of the Oppenheimer Trust, in the course of the growing integration of the new state monopolies with the Anglo-American trusts.

Abs negotiated with these gentlemen as the biggest West German banker, as a leading member of the Atomic Commission of the West German Federal Republic, and as Chairman of the Board of Degussa, the leading West German nuclear firm. (*Taschenheft der Spitzengremien des öffentlichen Lebens*, Festland Verlag, Bonn, 1960, p. 10.) Diederichs took part in his capacity as the man bearing chief responsibility for the Atomic Energy Board of the Republic of South Africa, and as trusted representative of the Boer and state-monopoly capital of South Africa. De Kock took part in the talks as expert on the big financial problems involved.

The subject of the talks was the measures necessary to commence the large-scale production of fissionable material for nuclear bombs, following the successful completion of tests on the production of 'nuclear grade uranium metal' and reactor material in the pilot plant at Pelindaba near Johannesburg.

Other subjects discussed were:

Camouflaging the production of fissionable material by launching a widely publicized programme for nuclear power-plants to be run by Escom, the state electric trust.

Development work on the modern poison gases such as Tabun, Soman and Sarin, developed by IG Farben in the closing stages of the second world war, too late for them to be used by the Nazis. Further development work should be done in the South African plant near Sasolburg.

The development and testing of all types of missiles, particularly long-range missiles for nuclear warheads and for modern poison gases.

The two main partners in the discussion, Abs and Diederichs are the authorized representatives of the circles in their respective countries interested in these themes.

ABS THE WAR CRIMINAL

Hermann Abs is Chairman of the Board of the Deutsche Bank AG, which has been for decades the largest and most influential bank of German monopoly capital. He was one of Hitler's most important financiers, and one of the main beneficiaries of Hitler's wars for loot. In 1942 Abs held posts on the boards of forty important companies, including the IG Farben chemical trust, the Metallgesellschaft AG Frankfurt, the Deutsche Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG Berlin, and many more.

In 1945 the Department of Justice of the U.S.A. published a statement saying:

'Abs is one of the eight financial and industrial bosses who exercised the greatest influence on the direction of Hitler's policies.' (Retranslated from German, ed.).

Because of the war crimes which he had committed, Abs was placed on the list of economic war criminals prepared by the U.S. authorities. Because of the war crimes which he committed in Yugoslavia alone, he was sentenced *in absentia* to fifteen years hard labour in Zagreb.

Today Abs is back in a leading position in more than fifty West German, foreign and international companies and organizations. The share capital of the firms controlled by Abs has a nominal value of about 4,000 million marks, and a market value of between 20,000 and 25,000 million marks. These companies include the largest and economically dominant West German firms. In addition his position at the head of by far the largest West German bank means that he has representatives in practically all important firms, institutions and organizations in West Germany. He has a decisive voice in the Atomic Commission, the most important of all.

Abs, the biggest war profiteer of Hitler's war, is more powerful than ever in the West German Federal Republic today. He has a decisive word to say on all important economic and political measures of the Erhard Government. Abs is also Chairman of the Board of Lufthansa, and thus Mellenthin's boss.

DR. DIEDERICHS

Dr. N. Diederichs is one of the oldest and most reliable South African liaison men of German monopoly capital and of German fascism.

He studied at the Universities of Munich, Cologne and Berlin. Diederichs is one of the leaders of the 'Afrikaner Broederbond'.

During the second world war Prime Minister Smuts ordered a thorough police investigation of the activities of the Broederbond, which at that time was working closely with the Nazis, and which today controls the composition of the South African Government and its basic policy. Prime Minister Verwoerd admitted at a public session of the South African House of Assembly in Cape Town on January 29th, 1964, that he had been a member for more than twenty-five years of this secret fascist league, a sort of South African Ku Klux Klan.

In the secret report of the South African police to General Smuts, dated March 29th, 1944, of which we have a photostatic copy, Diederichs is the most frequently named Nazi agent. The report states, for instance:

'In the meantime the AB (Afrikaner Broederbond) ever since the arrival—*circa* 1933—of the first Nazi agents camouflaged as scientists, educationists, etc., **had become immensely interested in the Nazi system.** Broers Dr. N. Diederichs and Dr. van Rensburg both visited Germany to study the Nazi system at first hand and became ardent admirers and adherents of National Socialism . . . Both of them qualified as quislings in the Nazis' Anti-Komintern training school' (pp. 7-8).

Diederichs' main activities were in the economic field. The secret report of 1944 states:

The Economic Sphere:

The *Reddingsdaadbond*, under present leadership of Broer Dr. N. Diederichs, was originally started by the late Dr. Kestell with the noble object of regenerating the Poor Whites. On his return from Germany, Dr. Diederichs was quick to see the possibilities of the Reddingsdaadbond . . . Henceforth, it became the South African equivalent of the 'Winterhilfe' organization of the Nazi system. Like the Winterhilfe, it professes to assist the poor, where it is in actual fact a purely capitalistic and highly lucrative concern which unscrupulously exploits the needy and the gullible for the benefit of a select and powerful few. Some of these men figure on every single board of directors of the most powerful of the innumerable economic concerns which are wholly or completely controlled by the AB. Among the concerns completely controlled by the Broederbond are Volkskas, Unie-Winkels; Ekonomiese Instituut, Sasbank and Asokor . . .' (p. 9).

This economic activity brought Diederichs into contact with Abs at an early date. After the second world war he was actually one of Abs' employees, as director of 'Labour Construction Ltd.' which was largely financed by the Deutsche Bank. (*The South African Financial*

Year Book, 1958, p. XXIII.) His main activity in the leadership of the AB was however the systematic expansion of the Boer grip on the economy, and after the AB had taken over the government, the expansion of the state concerns. Since 1958 Diederichs has been Minister for Economic Affairs and Mines, and under his direction this group of industrial interests, well organized by the Broederbond, has become the decisive economic factor in South Africa, and has now penetrated the Anglo-American Oppenheimer trust. (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 2nd, 1964.)

All this time Diederichs remained in close contact with his fascist friends in West Germany, and he continued to visit them after he had become a minister. (See interview with Diederichs in the *Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung*, No. 21, November 1960.)

His latest visit to West Germany, when he discussed with Abs the present state of affairs was in April 1964. (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 8th, 1964.)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATOMIC POWER AUTHORITY

From 1958 to 1964 Diederichs bore top responsibility for the Atomic Energy Board of the Republic of South Africa. In South African law this body had the exclusive control over all the uranium, thorium and other radio-active materials produced in the country, described as "prescribed materials" in the Atomic Energy Act of 1948 last amended by Act No. 44 of 1961. The Atomic Energy Board was given exclusive rights to conduct atomic research. The activities of the Atomic Energy Board and all South African uranium works are strictly secret; the law stipulates that passing on 'certain information' may be punished with a fine of up to 10,000 rands (5,000 pounds sterling) and twenty years imprisonment. (*Year Book of the Republic of South Africa*, Chapter 36, pages 185-88: *Year Book and Guide to Southern Africa*, 1963, p. 185.)

The theoretician of the Atomic Energy Board and direct liaison man with Abs on this body is the German nuclear physicist Dr. Heinz Verleger, who has been a professor of the University of Pretoria since 1955. In the Nazi era Verleger was employed in the rank of government counsellor in the Physical-Technical Reich Institute in Berlin, and then, until 1945, was professor at Tubingen University. In 1945 he fled to South Africa, where he served as research officer of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research from 1946-50. Later he took up his professorship at Pretoria, and is today, as a leading member of the Atomic Energy Board, the right hand of Diederichs in all atomic questions. (*Wer ist Wer*, 1963, Arani-Verlag, West Berlin, p. 1,621).

Other confidential agents of West German finance capital occupy key positions on the Atomic Energy Board. They include Dr. Theo Schumann, deputy chairman of the Board, a South-West African and son of a German missionary, who is also a specialist for 'meteorological' rockets; and Dr. A. J. A. Roux, director of the Atomic Energy Research Development Programme of South Africa, who maintains contact with Degussa, the West German atom concern controlled by Abs.

These links began in 1958 in direct connection with Diederich's assumption of the leadership of the Atomic Energy Board. At that time Roux was the head of the South African delegation to the International Atomic Conference in Geneva. On September 29th, 1958, he visited the chiefs of Degussa and offered to supply uranium concentrate. Roux stated frankly that the Atomic Energy Board was having difficulty with the main customers for South African uranium, the Anglo-American firm Combined Development Agency. Degussa, which had long been looking for a 'free' source of raw materials for its own atomic experiments (when U.S. firms supply uranium to West German firms they impose certain restrictions and insist that the plutonium produced shall be returned) immediately took up the offer. After lengthy negotiations agreement was reached for the supply of 100 tons of uranium oxide (U_3O_8) over a period of ten years. The price was fixed at $10.25 for the first five years and $8.20 for the second five years per pound avoirdupois of U_3O_8.

In the course of the negotiations Roux repeatedly declared that for political and ideological reasons he and his friends would prefer to co-operate with West Germany rather than any other country in the fields of atomic research and atomic technology. He made proposals for close co-operation. On the instructions of the Atomic Commission of the West German Federal Republic negotiations on these questions were conducted by Ministerial Director Karl Kaissling, head of Department III (Nuclear Research) in the West German Atomic Ministry. He placed at the disposal of the South Africans the uranium expert Hans Paul, and the licence to use a method of refining uranium ore developed in the pilot plant at Ellweiler, Birkenfeld district.

Hans Paul is the director of the mining firm Gewerkschaft Brunhilde, which is prospecting for uranium in the Federal Republic with the financial backing of the West German Government. (*Handbuch des deutschen Bergbaues*, 1963, p. 366.)

In 1958-59 the Gewerkschaft Brunhilde constructed the Ellweiler pilot plant on the instructions of and with finances provided by the Federal Ministry for Nuclear Energy. The construction firms, both of them controlled by Abs, were Lurgi, Frankfurt, and Phillip Holzmann, Frankfurt. (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesegierung*, Bonn, October 24th, 1959.)

PILOT PLANT, FIRST REACTOR, EXPERTS

In the meantime the Ellweiler process has been developed so that nuclear-clean solutions and fissionable end-products can be produced. For security reasons the large scale tests in the pilot plant were transferred to Johannesburg, South Africa, where they were successfully completed in 1963. The presence in South Africa of Hans Paul, the West German expert from Ellweiler, was camouflaged by the grant of an oil prospecting concession by Diederichs. (See *Die Welt*, September 25th, 1962.)

In 1963 the first atomic reactor in South Africa, near Pretoria, which was being built by the American firm Allis-Chalmers, was nearing completion. (*Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa*, 1963, pp. 185-86.)

On January 12th, 1962, an unnamed South African scientist declared in the *Rand Daily Mail*: 'It is within the bounds of our resources to make an atom bomb'.

This statement is correct. At present South Africa produces about 20 per cent of the uranium mined in the capitalist world, and has the greatest proved reserves of uranium ores. Other minerals important for atomic research, such as lithium, are mined in South Africa. The steel industry, engineering and the chemical industry in South Africa are growing quickly and are very productive. (See *An Expanding Economy*, September 1962; and *South Africa in Fact*, June 1964, publicity pamphlets published by the South African Embassy in London.)

The Zurich magazine *Südafrika*, published in No. 1 of 1964 an article entitled: 'South Africa is in a position to exploit atomic energy'. The article stated:

"Dr. T. E. W. Schumann, Deputy-President of the South African Atomic Energy Board, stated in Pretória that in the past four years South Africa had formed one of the best-trained corps of scientists for nuclear research outside the big western powers, Japan and Russia . . A further eighty-three South African scientists were at present continuing their studies at many institutes in Europe, England and the U.S.A."

FINANCE, CAMOUFLAGE, AND WARNING

Despite the favourable conditions with regard to materials and personnel, and despite the aid received from West Germany, the large-scale production of nuclear fuel and atomic bombs represents an enormous effort for the South African economy, particularly in the financial field, and this made thorough discussions with Hermann Abs necessary.

One of the results of these discussions was the realization that such extraordinary industrial and financial efforts could no longer be kept secret. It was therefore decided to launch a large-scale programme for the production of nuclear power by Escom, the state electricity concern; this would help to provide camouflage, and would make easier the financing of the big production of nuclear material.

Suddenly a campaign was launched for the project to cover the entire power needs of South Africa within ten years by means of nuclear energy. Mr. Rood, chairman of the Union Steel Corporation in Pretoria, demanded a speed-up in the plans for nuclear power production in South Africa. Professor Zeemann, director of the Institute of Physics of the University of Stellenbosch, told the press that in about ten years nuclear power could have replaced traditional power sources in South Africa; and Dr. A. J. A. Roux announced that by the beginning of the 1970's it would be possible to count on the economic production of nuclear power in South Africa. (*Sudafrika von Woche zu Woche*, No. 98, October 11th, 1963; No. 113, March 21st, 1964.)

This propaganda led to an Escom loan of forty million rands (20 million pounds sterling) being oversubscribed within forty-eight hours (ibid, No. 100, November 1st, 1963), but it could not prevent foreign experts becoming suspicious. The Swede, Dr. A. Sigvard Eklund, Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, sounded the alarm. At a press conference in Washington he declared that to the degree that nuclear power became economical then international guarantees were necessary in order to prevent the misuse of nuclear material for military purposes.

Dr. Eklund stated that the International Atomic Energy Agency had unanimously decided at its meeting in Vienna in February 1964 that such guarantees were necessary for all nuclear power plants with a capacity of more than 100,000 kilowatts, in order to ensure that at least fissionable material produced by nuclear power works built with the aid of the International Atomic Energy Agency would not be misused for military purposes. (*New York Times*, March 28th-29th, 1964.)

This decision does not specifically name the South African - West German 'nuclear power plan', but it does draw international attention to the frightful threat to world peace posed by such camouflage plans; it also helps to mobilize the peace forces of the world against this threat.

HITLER'S IG FARBEN GAS AGAIN

There is a similar position with regard to plans for the production of poison gases and missiles in South Africa with West German help; the reports of the special Apartheid commission of the U.N. have repeatedly drawn attention to these plans.

On November 7th, 1963, Professor L. J. le Roux, Vice-President of the National Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, told a scientific congress in Pretoria that the South African Defence Research Council had set up a specialist group of scientists to tackle the further development of virulent poison gases such as tabun, soman and sarin. These gases were developed towards the end of the war in Germany, at a time when it was too late for them to be used. They are ten times as poisonous as all previous gases, are odourless, and could be sprayed like an insecticide from planes or rockets. They would have the destructive effect of a 20 megaton atom bomb, but are considerably cheaper. (*Reuters*, November 11th, 1963, *New York Herald Tribune*, November 8th, 1963.)

This specialist group of scientists includes a number of poison gas experts formerly employed by IG Farben on gas research; these men fled to South Africa since they were afraid of being put on trial for their part in producing the poison gas which was used by the Nazis for killing millions of people on racial grounds. They are headed by Günther Pruss, who served in a leading position in the poison gas research department of the Nazi Wehrmacht.

The production experience and the licences of the former IG Farben trust were made available to the specialist group by Dr. Felix Prentzel. Prentzel was formerly ministerial director in the West German Federal Economics Ministry under Ludwig Erhard. Today he is a member of the board of IG Farben (in liquidation); Director-General of the Degussa atomic concern, and sits on the board of the 'Otavi Minen- und Eisenbahngesellschaft', the largest West German colonial firm. (*Wer ist Wer*, Arani-Verlag, West Berlin, p. 1165.)

The Otavi Minen- und Eisenbahngesellschaft is controlled, like IG Farben i. L and Degussa, by Hermann Abs through the Deutsche Bank. In the past few years this company has considerably extended its influence in South Africa, and bought up the whole or part of no fewer than nine South African firms, as the latest company reports show. (ADN report from Frankfurt/Main, June 15th, 1964.)

Prentzel also represents the interests of IG Farben i. L in South Africa. During and after the war the Smuts Government in South Africa confiscated German property; the Verwoerd Government has ordered the return of this property to its original owners, and with the help of this new ruling Prentzel is attempting to gain a footing in the rapidly-growing chemical centre at Sasolburg, which works with confiscated IG Farben patents. This is the aim of the transfer of the IG Farben licences to the poison gas specialists of the Research Council, since these terrible gases would be produced at Sasolburg.

SOUTH AFRICAN MISSILES—WEST GERMAN EXPERTS

Regarding the production of missiles capable of carrying atomic war heads and poison gases, Defence Minister Fouché told the South African Parliament in June 1963 that South Africa intended to produce **its own guided missiles.** In October 1963 Professor L. J. le Roux, Vice-President of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, announced that South Africa had established an Institute for Rocket Research near to Pretoria, and had set up its own rocket testing grounds. He said that the Institute would give South Africa 'a foothold in space and weather research'. (*The Times*, London, October 28th, 1963.)

Space rockets are naturally rockets with a long range.

West German specialists from firms controlled by Abs are also occupied in preparations for missile production. The firms concerned are Bölkow Entwicklung KG in Munich, and the practically identical Waffen- und Luftrustungs AG Hamburg. International protests forced this second firm to abandon its rocket tests at Wattenmeer on the North Sea; these tests will now be continued on the rocket testing grounds near Pretoria, following the removal of its experts to South Africa. (*Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, No. 297, October 29th, 1963.)

The firms of Siemens and Telefunken have also sent experts and technicians to the Institute for Rocket Research. (*Sunday Spectator and Vanguard*, Accra, August 3rd, 1964.)

West Germany's main interest in South Africa is research on long-range missiles. In spring 1964 the West German Institute for Aeronomics, Lindau am Harz, established a rocket observation and ionosphere station with antennae 120 metres high near to Tsumeb in South West Africa, near to the Angolan frontier and one thousand kilometres from Pretoria. (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 102, April 29th, 1964.) This Institute co-operates closely with the West German Defence Ministry; its projects are directly financed from the budget of this Ministry. (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 84, April 10th, 1964.)

This station at Tsumeb, which is particularly suitable for testing missiles which could reach any point on the African continent, is controlled on the South African side by Dr. Theo Schumann, specialist for meteorological rockets, who works closely on the Atomic Energy Board, as noted above, with Diederichs.

VERWOERD TAKES A HAND

Soon after the plans were laid for the production of fissionable material, poison gas and missiles, it became clear that South Africa could make little progress in these fields without a strict co-ordination of its resources. For this reason, Prime Minister Verwoerd himself took a hand. At the end of July 1964 he announced the establishment of a Planning Ministry, which should unite the efforts of various planning and co-ordination bureaus hitherto scattered under the control of Verwoerd and Diederichs. (*Südafrika von Woche zu Woche*, No. 125, July 21st, 1964.)

On August 7th it was announced that a 'Department of Planning' had been set up, to deal with 'the growing importance of joint planning and the co-ordination of certain activities in various spheres'. (*South African Digest*, organ of the South African Ministry of Information, August 7th, 1964.)

The leading officials of this new department will be under the direct control of Verwoerd. Atomic research was included in the new department by means of giving the new minister the title of 'Minister of Planning and of Mines'; the Atom Law gives the Minister of Mines responsibility for atomic affairs. The new Planning Minister is Jan Friedrich Wilhelm Haak, one of Verwoerd's 'young men', and hitherto deputy to Diederichs in the Ministry of Economic Affairs. This appointment means that a further fanatical racialist and friend of West German imperialism has been given a key position in the South African production of atom bombs, poison gas and missiles. Haak is a close friend of Dr. Werner Junker, the West German Ambassador. At the annual banquet of the German - South African Chamber of Industry and Commerce at the end of 1963 the two men spoke of the close friendship between the two countries. Haak stated that this traditional friendship went back to the middle of the nineteenth century, and had been steadily increased by the strong German immigration. (*Afrika-Post*, No. 9, November 1963.)

Haak became internationally known in September 1962, when the Johannesburg *Sunday Express* revealed that he, in his capacity as Deputy Minister of Economics, had helped to raise £100,000 in South Africa for Sir Oswald Mosley, British fascist leader.

AGAINST AFRO-ASIAN STATES IN 'THE SAME SPIRIT' AND 'ON THE SAME PRINCIPLES'

The spirit in which Haak and his friends are planning the production of atomic weapons is shown by a statement made by his close friend Dr. Andries Visser, member of the Atomic Energy Board. Visser recently declared publicly that South Africa should begin to produce atomic weapons in order to use them against the 'loud-mouthed Afro-Asian states'. (*The Rise of the South African Reich*, Brian Bunting, London, 1964, p. 302.)

This attitude and this spirit are publicly approved by the leadership of the West German Federal Republic. As proof two statements made by the two leading representatives of West Germany are cited below. **In March 1959, Dr. Heinrich Lübke, today President of the West German Republic, visited South Africa. He visited some large farms and also 'areas farmed by natives'. (*Afrika-Post,* April 1959.) Following this he delivered his infamous judgement: 'The problems (of the natives) are in good hands with the Government; its experience could be usefully employed on the whole continent (of Africa)'. (*Informationen aus Sudafrika.* April 1959, published by the South African Embassy in Bonn.)**

In November 1956 Professor Ludwig Erhard, today the West German Chancellor, visited South Africa and told his hosts: '*There is a similar spirit at work both in (West) Germany and South Africa.*' (*Afrika-Post,* December 1956, p. 6.)

Speaking at the annual banquet of the German - South African Chamber of Commerce on November 5th, 1956, he emphasized this point: 'We are all working on the task of shaping life according to the same principles.' (ibid, p. 10.).

When Erhard became West German Chancellor, Premier Verwoerd thanked him for his expression of solidarity with a telegram stating:

'We have pleasant memories of your visit to South Africa. I look forward to hearty relations and fruitful co-operation with you and your government in the future." (*Sudafrika von Woche zu Woche,* No. 100, November 1st, 1962.)

In this memorandum we have refrained to a large degree from comments; we have left the facts to speak for themselves. As the references show, we have confined ourselves almost entirely to reports and information from western sources. We should like to conclude this memorandum with two remarks:

1. We regard it as a national duty, and at the same time as an act of international solidarity, to warn the peoples of the criminal manipulations of the West German imperialists and their South African co-conspirators. Military power, atom bombs, poison gas and missiles in the hands of men like this are a serious threat to world peace, national independence, and the liberation struggle of those peoples still living under colonial regimes.

We believe that knowledge of the dangerous plans being made by the West German imperialists and their South African allies will enable the African states threatened by these plans to take defence measures in good time.

2. This memorandum is not intended to describe the ever-growing co-operation between the present rulers in West Germany and South

Africa in all fields of politics, economics and culture, and the roots of their ideological affinity, which stretch back to the days of the Kaiser's Germany and the Boer Republics. We reserve the right to deal in further memoranda with these and with other aspects of the alliance between the West German imperialists and the South African racialists, an alliance which is so dangerous to peace and liberty.

Berlin, September 1964.

Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee
in the German Democratic Republic.

PAN-AFRICANISM and the struggle of the TWO IDEOLOGIES

Ivan Potekhin *

THE AFRICAN CONTINENT has in recent years become the scene of a bitter ideological struggle. Never before has there been such ferment in African minds as there is today. The bitterness of this struggle can be easily explained.

The majority of African peoples have liberated themselves from colonial occupation and set up their own national states. The imperialists, forced to abandon direct political rule, have tried to take advantage of their former colonies' economic dependence in order to maintain indirect political control and thus keep them within the capitalist orbit. But history has its own logic. Now that the African countries have attained sovereignty, they naturally wish to conduct an independent policy which differs from that of their former rulers and indeed very often cuts right across the latter's interests.

To a differing extent and in various ways African Governments are trying to restrict the dominating position held by the former metropolitan countries in their economic affairs. Many have firmly resolved that, with the backing and disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, they will put an end to their economic dependence on imperialist powers and thereby free themselves of political pressure from that quarter.

The African countries are intently searching for the quickest ways of overcoming economic and cultural backwardness. Soviet experience in transforming economically and culturally backward Russia into a great, leading Socialist power has fired the Africans' imagination. One African Government after another has announced its adherence to Socialist ideas. The number of persons spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the most advanced ideology of modern times, is constantly multiplying. Socialism has become more popular than any other idea in Africa today. Moreover, many countries are taking measures in conformity with the non-capitalist way of development.

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* Translated from the Soviet journal *Communist*, this article, and the late Professor Potekhin, are referred to in the Editorial Notes of this issue.

Because the imperialists are seriously disturbed by the Africans' determination to choose their own way forward without consulting them on the matter they are now more than ever supplementing economic fetters with ideological persuasion. Never before have they retained such a large staff of ideological servitors as in the independent African countries today. Never before have they dumped such a tremendous amount of propaganda material onto Africa.

The struggle between the two principal ideologies of our day, the bourgeois and the Socialist, lies at the heart of the ideological struggle in Africa and throughout the world. In Africa, however, due to certain historical peculiarities and the existing social structure, this struggle is exceptionally complicated by a whole host of other factors of the people's spiritual life, such as nationalism, which sometimes takes the form of anti-white racialism, tribalism (the ideology of patriarchism and tribal separatism), etc. The social outlook of most African intellectuals, who constitute the leading force in most African countries because of the weakness of the working class and the bourgeoisie, is marked by eclecticism an odd mixture of different and even contradictory, basically idealistic views on society, the laws of its development and man's inner world. It is worth noting in this connection a statement made by Mburumba Kerin, a leader of the national movement in South-West Africa who used to live in the U.S.A. and represented his country at the United Nations. Our aim, he wrote, is Pan-African Socialism, and justice and prosperity for all. In their struggle the African leaders should welcome and use ideological contributions in the same way as they welcomed material contributions. They must seek ideological confirmation of their fight everywhere they could: in the social and economic teaching of Islam and Christianity, in Karl Marx's economic analysis, in the experience of the Chinese People's Republic, the Soviet Union, America and Cuba. As leaders devoted to their cause, he concluded, they should take from everywhere everything that was of value for Africa and supplement this with Africa's considerable ideological capital accumulated over the centuries.

The state of mind of African intellectuals, particularly in the tropical countries peopled by Negro Africans, is reflected in the policy and ideology of Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism started as a political movement with its own ideological basis at the end of the nineteenth century and has since followed a very complicated, contradictory course. It originated in

America. The nineteenth century was a bloody period for the Negro people. In Africa, people died in their thousands, upholding their right to an independent way of life. In America, the descendants of Africans who had been transported there by the slave-traders rose up in a succession of revolts against slavery. The African peoples were mercilessly crushed and turned into colonial slaves in their own homeland. Their descendants in America, in alliance with the white anti-slavery campaigners, were victorious: on January 1st, 1863, President Lincoln declared the Emancipation Proclamation.

The slaves became free, but the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling of 1857 in the case of Dred Scott, a Negro, remained in force. This ruling, made in a particular case, proclaimed a principle of general validity: Negroes were inferior to whites and, even if freed, could never become part of the American nation. This racialist declaration was formally annulled by the adoption of the 13th (1865) and 14th (1868) Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, but the outrageous practice of discrimination against Negroes continues to this day.

The events of 1963, a hundred years after emancipation, showed that the ruling of 1857 is no dead letter for modern American society, that same society which imperialist propaganda holds up as a 'model'. All over the country, reports Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, Negroes are beaten up, kicked, shot at and killed. A hundred years had passed since emancipation, noted American Negro leader Martin Luther King, but they had to acknowledge a tragic fact: Negroes were no freer than before. As in the past, the life of Negroes in the U.S.A. was crippled by the fetters of segregation and the chains of discrimination. A hundred years later, he protested, Negroes were pushed into the corners of American society and felt themselves alien in their own land. Negro-baiting has, indeed, become a dangerous political weapon in the hands of the fascist-minded reactionaries. They are responsible for increasing tension between black and white so as to undermine America's democratic institutions and clear the way for a fascist dictatorship.

No other race has suffered so many insults to its human dignity or such humiliation under capitalism as the Negro. For the sake of capitalist business Negroes both in Africa and in America were declared inferior people. In conditions of the existence of colonial empires it becomes urgent to refute the 'theory' of white racial superiority and show that the Negro was a human being and that black-skinned people were no worse than white-skinned people. Research had to be done into African history of the time Africa was free, when the great empires of Ghana and Mali existed, and when African craftsmen created exquisite works of art. As Frantz Fanon of Martinique, who fought in the Algerian revolution, wrote, Negroes were faced with the urgent task of 'proving to the white world at all costs the existence of a Negro civilization' (Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, p. 46). The first to tackle this task were the American Negroes who, besides having a vital interest in this question, had greater opportunities than the enslaved peoples of Africa. In the nineteenth century, the American Negroes produced a considerable number of talented historians, the most notable being the late Dr. William DuBois, grandson of a slave, member of the American Communist Party and Lenin Peace Prize winner.

Africans were only able to get down to this task after they had won political independence. The idea of the African personality was propounded at the First Conference of Independent African States in 1958; this idea means recognizing that Africa has its now personality, its own history and its own culture and that it has made valuable contributions to world history and world culture. It is the same idea that was developed by American Negro historians in the nineteenth century: to restore the dignity of the Negro peoples which had been trampled underfoot by the American slave-owners and the European colonizers. It is a great liberating idea. In order to round off the struggle against colonialism, the imperialist-dominated peoples had to find renewed inspiration and become aware of their own strength and ability to build their life anew. Guinean President Sékou Touré calls it 'spiritual decolonisation', Pan-Africanism is therefore a reaction to colonial enslavement in Africa and racial discrimination against the descendants of African slaves in America; it is an ideological and political means of fighting racialism and colonialism.

At first the Pan-African movement was really a Pan-Negro movement, centred in America, to unite the Negro people of Africa and America in the fight against racialism and colonialism. The first Pan-African Conference was called in London in 1900 by H. Sylvester-Williams, a Negro from Trinidad. Between 1919 and 1927, four Pan-African congresses were held on the initiative and under the guidance of Dr. DuBois. Few delegates came from Africa, most being American Negroes. In fact, no Africans at all attended the Fourth Congress held in America. The independence movement had not yet assumed a mass scale in Africa. The nationalist organizations at that time limited their demands to a reform of the colonial adminstration rather than putting forward the slogan of independence. The resolutions on African questions adopted at the first four Pan-African congresses reflected this moderation but, all the same, the Pan-African movement then played a useful role in drawing the attention of world opinion to African problems.

The Fifth Congress held in Manchester in 1945 under Dr. DuBois's chairmanship helped broaden the tasks of the Pan-African movement. In fact, the composition of the Congress made it a really African affair. Besides DuBois, such leaders of the national independence movement as Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta and Nnamdi Azikiwe took a prominent part in it. Moreover, the Congress was strongly anti-colonial and anti-imperialist. It called on the peoples of Africa to fight 'by all the means at their disposal' for the abolition of colonial regimes and the attainment of political independence. '. . . The struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation,' the delegates affirmed in their Declaration to the Colonial Workers, Farmers and Intellectuals. 'The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. . . . We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the Colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. . . . Today there is only one road to effective action—the organization of the masses. . . . Colonial and Subject Peoples of the World—Unite!' This was the first Congress to make a call for African unity and the uniting of all countries and peoples of the continent in the fight against colonialism and imperialism, and to advance the idea of a union of African states.

When the African leaders proclaimed the slogan of unity, they were quite aware that it would be a very difficult thing to put into practice. The imperialists had carved the continent up into fifty pieces of colonial territory whose administrative boundaries bore no relation to ethnic distribution. This still remains a bone of contention between some countries. The people of Africa belong to several races and a great many linguistic groups; besides three world religions—Christianity, Islam and Judaism—there are several local religions. The African countries usually have practically no economic relations with each other; on the other hand, however, they are still firmly tied to traditional markets in the former metropolitan countries. The imperialist powers are doing everything they can to prevent African unity. The association, under imperialist pressure, of eighteen African countries with the European Common Market puts additional difficulties in the way of promoting inter-African trade. Furthermore, African statesmen themselves hold different views on what form unity should take.

Yet, despite all the obstacles, the idea of African anti-imperialist unity is making headway. The movement for unity draws support from a wide variety of social groups: Pan-African organizations of workers, peasants, young people, women, journalists and students have already been set up; and last year a Pan-African conference of clergymen was held in Kampala. Disruptive elements from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions obstructed the establishment of a single Pan-African trade union association with the result that two union bodies were formed in 1961. But the working class will ultimately have its way and overcome this difficulty too. Representatives from the two bodies met in Dakar last November and set up a committee to prepare a united Pan-African trade union conference.

The adoption of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity by the Heads of State (Government) Conference in Addis Ababa is a great victory for those fighting colonialism and imperialism and is welcomed by all true friends of the African peoples. In his Message to the heads of state and government attending the Conference the Soviet Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchov said that 'the idea of unity and solidarity of the African countries and their desire to unite their efforts in the fight against colonialism, for strengthening political and economic independence, and for the advancement and well-being of their peoples is keenly felt and understood by the Soviet peoples. The high and noble aims set by the Charter find wholehearted support in the Soviet Union.' The future will show what success the Charter principles will have in practice. But the first steps taken by African states to eliminate the last remaining colonial regimes (particularly in Angola) and to put an end to the hapless lot of the Africans in South Africa give grounds for hope.

The political aspect of Pan-Africanism underwent a great change when slogans on Africa's liberation and unity and the subsequent fight to implement them were brought to the fore. As we saw above, this had previously been a Pan-Negro movement formally uniting Negroes throughout the world, particularly in the United States and Africa. Now Pan-Africanism became a movement of the African peoples irrespective of race. Besides the black, Negro race, the African continent is inhabited by the white race (Arabs, Berbers, etc.) and the Khoisan race (Bushmen, Hottentots), etc. Both Arabs and Ethiopians have actively joined the fight for Pan-African unity alongside the Negro peoples.

The Pan-African movement became truly African and swept the entire continent. The old idea of the Pan-Negro movement, however, was taken up by others who gave it a completely different slant. Before the second world war two Negro poets, then living in Paris—Léopold Senghor, now President of the Republic of Senegal, and Aimé Césaire, from Martinique, advanced the concept of Negritude.

Negritude is first and foremost a reaction against the humiliation suffered by black intellectuals and their fellow countrymen in Paris; it is a protest against the imperialist policy of assimilation and suppression of African culture. 'Negritude is an idea born in us from the awareness that throughout the whole of history we have been robbed,' wrote Alioune Diop, general secretary of the Society of African Culture. 'Negritude is our modest but resolute striving to restore the victim's rights and show the world what it has particularly insistently denied—the dignity of the black man.' But Negritude, like the nationalism of an oppressed nation, has two sides to it: a just desire to restore the dignity of the black man, and the reactionary counterposing of the black race to the white, which is dangerous for the progress of the Negro peoples. The opponents of Negritude who sum it up as anti-racial racialism are quite right.

According to the concept of Negritude, white and black people have a different way of thinking: 'the European's way of thinking is analytical and logical, while the Negro-African's is intuitive.' This implies two methods of cognition, and 'cognition by means of comparison and intuition is Negro-African cognition'. These anti-scientific ideas lead to absurd political conclusions. Hence, Marxism is said to be unsuitable for Africa and 'the romantic theme widespread in Europe' about 'the so-called solidarity of the European proletariat and the colonial peoples does not stand up to criticism'. There can be no alliance between the European workers and the imperialist-enslaved peoples of Africa, affirms the advocate of Negritude, turning a blind eye on the valuable contribution made, for instance, by the French workers and their Communist Party towards the liberation of the French colonial people.

After the second world war, attempts were made to boost the idea of a single Negro-African culture and Negro-African literature including literature created by all Negro writers regardless of where they lived or worked—in the Congo or the United States—and on this basis to organize a new Pan-Negro movement. In 1947, a group of Negro intellectuals from French colonies in Africa and the West Indies started to put out a magazine in Paris called *Présence Africaine* intended to 'uphold the unity of Negro culture'. In 1956, they convened an International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, which decided to form the Society of African Culture (formally founded on March 9th, 1957); the word African is here used as a synonym for Negro. Jean Price-Mars, a doctor from Haiti, was elected president of the Society. A second Congress was held in Rome in 1959. The Society's activities were useful in that they made many people familiar with problems connected with the renaissance and development of African culture which the colonialists had pronounced primitive and unworthy of attention. On the political level, however, it was not and could not be successful.

The concept of Negritude did not win recognition in Africa or among the American Negroes. The best minds of the continent refuse to attach any importance to the colour of a man's skin and to introduce racial considerations into politics. Speaking about Garveyism (a Negro movement in the 1920's) Ghanaian President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has stated quite categorically that black nationalism was the opposite of African nationalism. Ghana's Permanent Representative at the United Nations Alex Quaison-Sackey frequently observes in his book *Africa Unbound* (1963, pp. 43, 161, etc.), how stupid it is for a Negro to emphasize his blackness. On the subject of Negritude he wrote that it 'is a dangerous creed: why should the colour of a man's skin mean anything? . . . What is truly important is the self-respect and mutual understanding among all human beings of whatever colour'. (*Ibid.*, p. 161.)

Negritude implies justification of colonialism as an historically unavoidable evil. Its proponents admit that colonialism is an evil, but 'let us cease uttering reproaches and be more attentive to the contribution made than to the damage done', they cry. Europe 'brought us a higher technique than our own; . . . having destroyed the old Negro-African animism, it offered us Christianity—a more rational religion', and so on, and for that reason 'let us stop cursing colonialism and Europe and making them the cause of all our ills'. In order to justify their stand, they allege—as Léopold Senghor did, for instance, when opening a seminar on 'African Socialism' (Dakar, December 3rd-8th, 1962)—that Marx and Engels 'were not anti-colonialists'.

Events in recent years have shown that the advocates of Negritude prefer alliance with imperialist France to Pan-African unity. Ruling circles in African countries, formerly part of the French colonial empire, who have given their allegiance to Negritude have not participated in the all-African peoples' conferences, the direct continuation of the Pan-African Congresses. And they did not attend the three Afro-Asian solidarity conferences held in African capitals (their countries were either totally unrepresented or were represented by opposition organizations and leaders). They refused to take part in the third conference of independent African states, scheduled for Tunis in 1962, preferring instead to convene separate conferences (Brazzaville, December 1960; Yaoundé, March 1961), as a result of which the splinter Afro-Malagasy Union was set up. They were to blame for the fact that the projected third conference of independent African states did not take place. Public opinion in support of African unity compelled them, however, to attend the Addis Ababa Conference and sign the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Even so, they immediately announced their intention of continuing with the Afro-Malagasy Union, whose activity, as President Sékou Touré of Guinea has rightly said, 'is aimed at emasculating the African Charter adopted at the Addis Ababa Conference of its dynamic content.'

This is the short, as yet unfinished, history of a contemporary movement founded on a racial concept: it started with anti-racialism and condemnation of French colonial policy and ended in alliance with the imperialists. One reason why the advocates of Negritude find themselves in this unnatural alliance with the oppressors is because they reject an alliance between the oppressed peoples of Africa and the European workers.

A wide range of historical experience convincingly shows that racial considerations have always been introduced into politics by reactionary forces (slave-owners, colonialists, German fascists, Japanese militarists, etc.) to justify their repugnant anti-popular policies. History shows that popular movements having a racial basis have always arisen as a reaction to racial oppression. Although in the first instance these movements are usually progressive, they always have some features which can be and in fact are used to a reactionary end. A member of such a movement may make up his mind, or may be persuaded, that all people of another race are his enemies and the enemies of his people. The case of the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa is an instructive example.

For a number of years before it was banned by the Government, the Congress of Democrats in South Africa grouped together English and Afrikaner supporters of the progressive, anti-imperialist organizations of the non-European population—the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, and the Coloured People's Congress. When all these organizations formed a common front of struggle against Verwoerd's fascist policies, a small group of A.N.C. members split away, complaining that the A.N.C. had fallen under white influence, and set up their own organization—the Pan-Africanist Congress—as a purely racial organization allegedly 'free' from white influence. The P.A.C. leadership immediately came out with violently anti-Communist statements and soon attracted the support of the white Liberal Party also engaged in vicious anti-Communist propaganda. The leader of its Right wing, Patrick Duncan, a rabid anti-Communist, became a particularly enthusiastic champion of the P.A.C. After having left the A.N.C. for the alleged reason that it co-operated with progressive whites, the P.A.C. fell into company with white reactionaries. This is, of course, quite natural: the main contradiction in bourgeois society is not between races but between antagonistic classes, between the forces of progress fighting for the Socialist transformation of society and the forces of imperialist reaction striving to save the outlived, decadent capitalist system.

The P.A.C. leaders are no exception. There are political figures in other African countries who counterpose black to white, and with the same result: in turning their back on friends, they find themselves bound in a shameful alliance with the enemies of African freedom.

The idea of 'ideological independence' has gained considerable ground among certain Africans. We cannot accept the ideology of either West or East, they say, for we have our own ideology and we must develop it further and improve on it. There are a number of factors behind the appearance of this idea.

The whole thesis rests on the concept of 'African exceptionalism': which claims that Africa is developing in ways different to other continents. African society, it is alleged, is by its very nature classless; elements of private ownership and exploitation were brought in by the colonialists and are alien to African society; before the colonialists arrived, African society was already Socialist, but the colonialists destroyed it and now it is necessary to restore the former Socialist institutions. The general laws governing the development of human society are said not to extend to Africa, which apparently has its own laws and should therefore have its own ideology.

At the same time, the concept of 'African exceptionalism' is a reaction to the humiliation suffered by the Negro peoples at the hands of the colonialists. Over the centuries the colonialists had maintained that the Negro peoples were incapable of independent creative action; they were perhaps able to take over the achievements of white peoples but, because of their mental inferiority, they could not create any new spiritual values themselves. Hence the natural desire to create something of their own, something original and in this way give the lie to the insulting inventions of the racialists and restore the dignity of the Negro peoples or, as Pan-Africanists would say, the dignity of the 'African personality'.

But is ideological independence possible? African society includes petty commodity producers, private property owners, and petty bourgeoisie; in many countries a capitalist bourgeoisie has already appeared and is exploiting the labour of others. Consequently, bourgeois ideology finds fertile soil within African society. For a long time

Africa has been subjected to strong ideological influence from the bourgeois countries of Europe and America. The colonialists implanted bourgeois, and not some other kind of ideology. As a result, bourgeois ideas are more widespread in Africa today than Socialist ideas which have only recently begun to filter through, although they are today spreading quickly. The attempt to conduct a policy of ideological independence can in practice mean only one thing: to prevent the spreading of Socialist ideas and strengthen bourgeois ideas. Small wonder that both the local, African, and the foreign, imperialist, bourgeoisie approve this policy.

Bourgeois journals throughout the world support '*African* Socialism' or, to give its other variant, 'Pan-African Socialism' in the belief that this theory will not lead to Socialism. For this reason those African statesmen and political figures who really are striving for Socialism have lately begun to use the more exact term 'scientific Socialism'. Characteristic in this respect is the evolution in the views of the Convention People's Party of Ghana. At first, the C.P.P. put forward in its policy statements the demand for 'African Socialism', then simply 'Socialism' without any definition, and finally 'scientific Socialism'. The ruling party in Mali, the Sudanese Union, has also given up using the term 'African Socialism'; at its last, sixth congress in 1962 the theory of scientific Socialism was proclaimed as its ideological foundation. At the colloquium on 'African Socialism' in Dakar, the Mali representative, Minister of Development Seydou Kouyate, spoke out in defence of the scientific theory of Socialism. When President Sékou Touré opened the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea on December 27th, 1962, he said: 'There is a lot of talk in Africa about African Socialism as if there were such a thing as Chinese Socialism, American Socialism, Yugoslav Socialism, Bulgarian Socialism, etc. If we go any farther along this path, then we shall begin to speak of the Nigerian or Togolese road to Socialism, about Senegalese chemistry or Moroccan mathematics.'

There is no single concept of 'African Socialism' but a great many different ones. A careful study of them all shows that in some cases they arise from confusion in the minds of people sincerely striving for Socialism, while in others they reflect the interests of the rising African national bourgeoisie who are willing to employ certain Socialist methods (economic planning, establishment of a state sector, etc.) in order to overcome economic backwardness but do not intend to allow any infringement on their own class interests. But no matter how theorists in Africa and elsewhere interpret 'African Socialism', the African popular masses regard it as firm rejection of the capitalist way of development and the end of man's exploitation of man, as well as of imperialist exploitation, that is, as authentic scientific Socialism. The working people link all their hopes for a better life with the idea of Socialism, that brand of Socialism which has already set one-third of mankind on the road to happiness, freedom and justice; this is the great achievement of our age.

Some African leaders claim that Marxism cannot be applied to their countries because the proletarian and bourgeois classes are not yet fully formed there. But Marxism offers, among other things, an explanation of the most general laws governing any society, including a pre-capitalist one. What it means by a non-capitalist path is that countries where the proletarian and bourgeois classes have not had time to form can take a way of development which can lead to Socialism, so by-passing the capitalist stage. The idea of non-capitalist development has won wide recognition in Africa, which provides further confirmation that Marxism is applicable to all continents and countries, including Africa.

Anti-Communist propaganda tries to convince Africans that if they accept the theory of scientific Socialism, this means they must blindly copy the experience of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and disregard specific African conditions. These specific conditions are very real and substantial and will inevitably affect the tempo and methods of transition to a Socialist society, but scientific Socialism in fact demands a thorough analysis of conditions in a country building Socialism. This truth is becoming more widely understood in Africa. At the Dakar colloquium Maurice Adoum from the Republic of Chad said that he did not think the term 'African Socialism' very suitable since 'the theory of Socialism, being a scientific theory, cannot be African just as it cannot be Chinese or Russian'. Nevertheless, he further remarked, 'the great masters of revolutionary practice show us by their own experience that there are many ways of approaching Socialism'. He called upon Africans to get rid of 'intellectual flabbiness' and find the means of implementing the ideas of scientific Socialism with due regard for African reality. This interpretation of 'African Socialism' as the search for ways and means of building Socialism with the material available to Africans does not contradict the scientific theory of Socialism, although the term itself is rather dubious since it is open to false interpretation.

As a political movement, Pan-Africanism has made a positive contribution to the struggle to liberate Africa from colonialism, but the fight is far from finished. The first stage of the national, anti-imperialist revolution—the winning of political independence and the establishment of national states—has not yet been completed since a number of countries still lie under the colonial yoke. Construction of a balanced national economy ensuring economic independence and strengthening state sovereignty is the next stage in the anti-imperialist revolution. Experience has shown that this is not an easy task. If all the peoples of Africa were united around a common anti-imperialist platform, it would be easier to complete this revolution. 'Africa's salvation lies in unity,' Telli Diallo of Guinea told the O.A.U. foreign ministers conference. In this sense Pan-Africanism's historic mission is not yet accomplished.

The ideology of Pan-Africanism is diffuse and can be interpreted in quite opposite ways. Consequently, the enemies of African unity, the enemies of her really independent development can sometimes hide behind the flag of Pan-Africanism. This, evidently, is what prompted Mburumba Kerin to say that the reactionaries hide themselves in America in the clothing of professional Africanists and in Africa behind the name of Pan-African nationalists. Pan-Africanism is not a single, integral whole either in the political or the ideological sense. A fierce battle between the forces of reaction and progress is being fought around the concept of Pan-Africanism. Some understand Pan-Africanism as unity of the African peoples in the struggle against imperialism, for abolition of the vestiges of colonialism, and for economic and social progress. Interpreted in this way, Pan-Africanism deserves every support from the forces of progress. Others regard Pan-Africanism as counterposing black to white—a view which only plays into the hands of Africa's enemies, the imperialists.

By interpreting Pan-Africanism in the way that suits them best, the European and American imperialists are trying to isolate Africa from its true friends, to strengthen their own ideological influence and make it an instrument for retaining political control in order to ensure their further, essentially colonial, exploitation of Africa. The people of Africa are repulsing these attempts and, although they are not yet always strong enough to expose all imperialism's ideological diversions, they will ultimately be victorious, for the truth of life is on their side.

NIGERIA AND MARXISM

W. O. Goodluck *
Vice-Chairman
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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION opened a new epoch in the history of humanity. That epoch is the epoch of Socialist Revolution. It made Communism no longer a spectre haunting Europe, but the greatest social force gripping the world and rapidly transforming it for the lasting happiness of mankind.

A hundred years ago only a handful of men dared identify themselves with the working class revolutionary movement. Today the army of the revolutionary working class movement has grown to several millions, and states with a Marxist-Leninist Government embrace over 1,134 million people, a third of mankind.

Against this background of inspiring revolutionary development appears the dying but stubbornly clinging to life—imperialism. It is not enough to proclaim the inevitable doom of imperialism, and thereby fold our arms and expect it to pass away. Imperialism even in its present decaying stage remains the greatest obstacle to man's future happiness. It remains dangerous, more cunning, treacherous and reckless. During the last hundred years, it has gained experience, it has improved its method of exploitation, it has multiplied its profit, it has succeeded in tightening its grip on the state machine and proceeded from national state monopoly capitalism to international state monopoly capitalism. Yet it remains a giant with clay feet. With the united effort of the socialist countries, the world revolutionary working class movement and the national liberation movement, imperialism shall be toppled and crashed into smithereens.

In the battle against world imperialism, the working class remains the most conscious, revolutionary and effective force to combat the might of international monopolistic capitalism. It follows therefore that it requires an effective militant trade union organization. The trade union movement today has been divided into two distinct leaderships. On the one hand are the right wing reformist leaderships, who advocate the line of capitulation and class collaboration, the line of agreement reached behind the backs of the working people and against their will. It is this labour aristocracy who serve as a brake on the militancy of the working class and an obstacle to the unity of the working class against capitalism.

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* From an address to the Conference of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, on the Centenary of the First International.

On the other hand are the militant left wing revolutionary leaderships who advocate the line of unity founded on defence of class principles, on the consistent struggle for the independence of the union from both the employers and the reactionary ruling class. Representatives of this leadership depend on the workers and organize the struggle of their demand under the banner of trade union unity.

With the ruthless exploitation of the working class by the monopolists, the vicious attack on the hardwon gains of the working class, the frequent police raids on trade union premises, the growing arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of militant trade union leaders; the ever growing unemployment problems and the spiral soaring of cost-of-living, the mass of the working class, the rank and file have swung to the offensive by founding Joint Action Committees over and above the heads of the reactionary right wing leadership.

The waves of strike movement in Western Europe, America, Latin America, Asia and Africa are eloquent testimony of the offensive of the working class against the monopolists. The development of Joint Action Committees of trade unions of different ideological orientation all over the world is the latest phenomenon which has overthrown the applecart of reactionary right wing trade union class collaborators and their monopolistic capitalist masters.

IN NIGERIA

At this stage it is useful to cite the successful application of the Joint Action Committee tactics in respect of two important countrywide strikes which have shaken the forces of neo-colonialism and monopoly capitalism in Nigeria to their foundations. Nigeria today is the largest populated African state with an officially declared population of 55 million (even though this figure is in dispute). After the end of the second world war, as a result of the general economic upheaval, the activities of the national liberation movement, and the marked deterioriation in the living standards of the working class and the masses as a whole, a countrywide strike broke out in 1945 which lasted up to forty-four days, ending in the victory of the Nigerian movement. Ever since, the British colonial powers, alarmed at such a grave threat to their economic interest, threw all their weight into the battle to divide and weaken the movement. Experts on labour problems were sent from the Colonial Office to advise the colonial administrators. The reactionary right-wing leadership of the British Trade Union Congress and other 'experts' helped to devise trade union ordinances which encouraged weak and ineffective unions.

In addition to this, the breakaway bodies of the I.C.F.T.U. sent experts to assist in the break-up of the militancy of the trade union movement. Trade union leaders were offered scholarships to study at Ruskin Trade Union College and on their return offered appointments either in the colonial government offices or absorbed into highly paid personnel management jobs. To complicate matters the I.F.C.T.U. also came through the back door to add to the division.

Besides these elements of division and confusion the militant left-wing leadership fell in the hands of pseudo-Marxists, ultra-left dogmatists and crooks. As a result for almost a period of eighteen years, apart from the strike of the Enugu coal miners in 1949 when twenty-one miners were shot dead in cold blood, and the strike of mercantile employees of the subsidiary Unilever Group, the United African Company Limited in 1950, the leaders of the Nigerian trade union movement were engaged in fruitless battle against themselves, leaving the monopoly capitalists alone to wax strong and given a free rein to exploit the workers ruthlessly. The Nigerian trade union movement became an object of international ridicule and derision, weakened and divided.

SOCIALIST AID

During this period it must be recorded that both the moral and material assistance rendered by the trade union movement of the socialist countries as well as the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) played no small part in helping to keep the militant left-wing of the movement growing.

The First Revolutionary Convention of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress which took place from August 4th to 8th, 1963, marked the turning point in the history of the Nigerian trade union movement. At that Convention a new leadership was elected into office, a leadership which had been tested and proved honest and determined, a leadership which has roots in the trade union movement and which recognizes the necessity of working together with all the progressive classes—especially the Marxist intellectuals. This leadership at the end of the Convention advocated as its main task a joint action programme of all trade unions with different ideological orientation based on the demand for a guaranteed national minimum wage, control of prices and rentals and abolition of the daily paid system.

The Central Working Party of the Nigerian Trades' Union Congress immediately embarked on this programme by calling a wage conference of all unions and central trade union organizations irrespective of their international affiliation. Seeing the impact which this call evoked, the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. affiliated centre, the United Labour Congress, hurriedly sent out another invitation on a similar theme of wage demand. This move no doubt set the Nigerian Trade Union Congress a problem whether to attend the conference called by the I.C.F.T.U.-led United Labour Congress. The Central Working Committee met and carefully examined the implications and came to the conclusion to attend the wage conference called by the United Labour Congress and at the same time to go ahead with the preparation of the original conference called by the Nigerian Trade Union Congress.

At the meeting of the I.C.F.T.U.-led United Labour Congress wage conference, the reactionary right-wing leadership ignored the presence of the leaders of the N.T.U.C. and pretended that it was only a conference of their affiliates that was in progress. Several leaders of the N.T.U.C. who raised their hands to speak were ignored. However, the rank and file members of both the U.L.C. and the N.T.U.C. affiliates who were directly involved raised their voices and demanded that the leader of the N.T.U.C. be given the floor to speak.

The N.T.U.C. leader who spoke stressed the urgent need for a Joint Action Committee. He pointed out the inability of any section of the existing central labour organization carrying out industrial action effectively. He pointed out that even though Government official recognition had been granted to the U.L.C. yet the Government had no respect for it. He stressed the deplorable conditions of the workers and the great harm which the division of the trade union movement was causing the workers.

At the end of the N.T.U.C. leader's speech the rank and file members who were present unanimously rose up and demanded the immediate setting up of a Joint Action Committee composed of ten members from each side. The meeting also approved the attendance of the U.L.C. to the N.T.U.C. wage conference and also mandated the twenty-man Committee to enlarge its membership and make room for other trade union bodies.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

At the N.T.U.C. wage conference the I.F.C.T.U. Nigerian Workers' Council, the neutralist Nigerian Union of Railwaymen and other neutral trade unions attended and the Joint Action Committee membership was enlarged.

The immediate task of the J.A.C. was to demand the setting up of a high-powered Commission of Enquiry to overhaul the existing colonial wage structure with the aim of bridging the gap between the lower income group and those in the senior service and the upper segment of the civil service, public corporations and private enterprise.

The Federal Government of Nigeria felt that the demand was a joke. It did not believe that the J.A.C. could last a week, and relied on the right-wing leaders of the U.L.C. majority to whom it offered board appointments. The Federal Government bluntly refused to appoint a Commission of Enquiry.

The workers became enraged and on September 27th, 1963, a countrywide strike started from Lagos, and by the 29th it had spread all over the country involving 800,000 workers. During this period the Nigerian Government which had been hard pressed by the progressive forces was compelled to invite the strike leaders to a meeting on the eve of October 1st, the anniversary of independence and the installation of the first President of the Republic Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. The Government was compelled to come to terms, having realized that the workers were determined.

The Federal Government, represented by four Cabinet Ministers, reached agreement with the leaders of the Joint Action Committee on terms dictated by them and the high-powered Commission of Enquiry was set up.

No sooner was the strike called off than both the Government and the I.C.F.T.U. combined together to break the Joint Action Committee. In fact the I.F.C.T.U.-led Nigerian Workers' Council that represented an insignificant section of the mercantile workers was expelled from the J.A.C. when it came out in opposition to the September strike call.

The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U.-led United Labour Congress also used their regional leaders to intensify the call for the dissolution of the Joint Action Committee. However, the leaders of the N.T.U.C. mounted a strong propaganda in support of the J.A.C. and sent out its leaders to meet the regional trade union leaders and encourage them to form branches of the J.A.C. all over the country.

The formation of regional branches of the J.A.C. weakened and exposed the leadership of both the U.L.C. and the N.W.C., and the majority of their affiliates openly disagreed with their directives. Thereby for fear of being isolated and destroyed they had to change their tactics.

The high-powered wage and salary review commission sat for a period of three months. Memoranda were submitted by the J.A.C., some trade unions, progressive economists, medical practitioners, the

Federal and Regional Governments as well as the Nigerian Employers' Consultative Association—N.E.C.A.

After six months of the appointment of the Commissions and non-submission of a report, the workers became very restive. The Government, which felt that it had weakened the J.A.C. enough, became obdurate and arrogant. It would not give a specific date when the report would be ready.

Under the auspices of the J.A.C. a representative meeting of all the trade unions was summoned and at this meeting a resolution was passed giving the Commissioners seven days to submit their report failing which another countrywide strike action would start. Before the end of the seven days ultimatum the report was submitted to the Federal Government. The representatives of the J.A.C. approached the Government for a copy of the report but the Government turned down the request. The workers were not in the mood to wait any longer and thereupon gave another ultimatum.

STRIKE ACTION

At the expiration of the given period a mass meeting of all workers was called to take a decision to start strike action. Simultaneously the Government sent for the J.A.C. leaders, doing its utmost to break the solidarity of the leadership. When it became clear that no report was forthcoming and it was discovered that the Government had deliberately called for the talks with a view to preventing a decision at the mass meeting, the J.A.C. leaders left the Government representatives. The rank and file seriously attacked the leaders for ever attending the last-minute meeting with the Government. The workers then decided to start a countrywide strike action after twenty-four hours.

The decision was hailed with great jubilation and the workers, defying the ban on public procession, poured into the streets and started a march to the Parliament. They were met at the middle of a bridge linking the mainland to the island of Lagos by steel-helmeted police, who attacked the workers with tear gas and baton charges and succeeded in breaking up the demonstration.

Leaders of the J.A.C. were wounded, arrested, locked up and charged in court.

The unanimous and united support of workers for the strike was inspiring. Both the Government and the foreign monopolist capitalists consoled themselves that the strike could not last more than a week. At the end of the first week the strike continued to spread further and further, the docks were paralyzed, the trains stood still, the shops were closed, the police and the army were confined to barracks and the economic life of the country gradually ground to a standstill. Over one million workers were on strike.

The striking workers started to raise the slogan of 'Balewa's Government must resign'. After the ninth day of the strike the Prime Minister Tafewa Balewa broadcast a message to the nation in which he ordered the workers back to work within forty-eight hours or face mass dismissal. The workers became indignant and defied the order. At the end of forty-eight hours the workers at a mass meeting of almost 250,000 workers gave the Balewa Government an ultimatum to either adopt the Commission's report or resign.

Before the end of the workers' forty-eight-hour ultimatum, the Balewa Government called for talks with the J.A.C. leaders and at the end of the second day of talks the strike was called off after the Federal Government had agreed (i) to withdraw its White Paper in which it rejected the finding of the Commission; (ii) to treat the thirteen days' strike period as earned leave; (iii) to withdrawal of all dismissal and termination papers; (iv) to withdraw cases in court against J.A.C. leaders and strikers; (v) non-victimization of strikers.

UNITY FROM BELOW

From the above experience of Nigerian trade union movement it can be seen that working-class unity should be looked for from below, among the workers who directly experience the day-to-day attack on their standard of living. The agreement from below among the working class based on their suffering is the key note to the further growth of the Joint Action Committee in the battle against imperialism.

Although the cause of the strike was based on economic demands, yet in its development, it has raised possible political action which with a developed Marxist-Leninist party could have led to a proletarian revolution. It also raises a problem of the role of the trade union in the national liberation movement.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

The division of a large area of the world among the capitalist powers and the deprivation of the majority of the people of their independence gave rise to antagonism and opposition to the capitalist rulers, which led to sporadic risings here and there. In West Africa and in Nigeria in particular such risings were led by the local chiefs, Obas and Emirs. The British had to enter into treaty with some of the compromising rulers and to establish the indirect rule system to subdue the people.

The national liberation movement in Nigeria took a national character after the end of the second world war. Before then there was only local opposition and the demand for reforms was confined to the coastal areas. There was no national movement of any significance over a large area of Africa. Historically before the outbreak of the second world war, with the exception of the one-fourth independent American semi-colony of Liberia, the whole of Africa was in the grip of the European capitalist powers.

The defeat of the fascist forces at the end of the second world war let loose the demand for national independence. But Comrades! Let us not kid ourselves, it was not only because of the might, or the better weapons of the national liberation movement, that the colonial powers abandoned the colonies. It was also because of the might of the socialist countries, their support, morally, financially, materially and militarily that the colonial powers were forced to yield. If the Soviet Union had not gone to the aid of Egypt when both the British and French imperialists invaded her territory, today there would not have been a flourishing United Arab Republic under President Nasser. And if the U.A.R. had been crushed in 1956, which African state would have dared to challenge the imperialists?

Let those erring comrades who have lost their bearings stop and think. The further success of the national liberation movement primarily depends on the continuous assistance and support from the socialist states and the world revolutionary working class movement. To isolate the national liberation movement from its inseparable root means only to turn over the gains of the national liberation movement to the neo-colonialists who are feverishly prowling around for any prey.

The national liberation movement in some countries has been led by the growing national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie is made up of two distinct groups. On one side are those who wish to compromise with the foreign monopolies, to co-operate with them, to go into partnership with them, to open up markets for unbridled exploitation and to oppose the call for nationalization of the property of the monopolists.

To this group in Africa belong the Government of Nigeria, the Senegalese Government, the Liberian Government, the Cameroons Government and several other Governments that adhere to the former Monrovian bloc.

On the other side are the Governments of progressive national bourgeoisie who are engaged in the completion of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. They advocate the nationalization of the foreign banks, insurance companies, shipping etc. etc. and proclaim as their main objective, the building of socialism. They establish commercial relationships with the socialist governments and enter into mutual and advantageous economic agreements. To this group belong the Governments of the Ghana Republic, the United Arab Republic, the Mali Government and the Algerian Government; and recently the newly independent Governments of Tan-Zan and Kenya.

ROLE OF MARXISM

It is a well known fact that there were hardly any well organized and developed Marxist Parties in any of the colonial territories before the victory of the national liberation movements. In Nigeria there existed various pockets of Marxist groups. Attempts made to unify these groups on different occasions were not lasting. In any case the national liberation movement struggle appealed to and unified all forces fighting against colonialism.

It was after the victory of the national liberation movement and the inability of the ruling national bourgeoisie to complete the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution that the formation of Marxist Parties took place.

Considering the socio-economic stage of development in some of the African developing states, where there is practically no industry, where the working class consists of white collar merchant clerks, where capitalism is still in its infancy, where the mass of the people are illiterate and the country is still in the feudal stage of development the classical text book solutions do not apply and therefore new methods and tactics are required to guide the people to socialism.

There is therefore no ready-made answer for Marxists-Leninists in Africa. It is our duty to map out the road to consolidate the victory of the national liberation movement and support it to complete its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. In some of the African states like Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Algeria and Mali the question has been raised whether there is a necessity to found a purely Marxist-Leninist Party as distinct from the popular nationalistic governments. In some of these countries existing Communist Parties that have played leading roles in the national liberation movement have been banned and their leaders jailed.

As Marxists-Leninists, we must admit that we are capable of making mistakes, if we become dogmatic, if we feel that we are the only chosen people to herald scientific socialism and that the move towards socialism not necessarily based on scientific socialism by others must be opposed. If, rather than using our knowledge to guide others towards our goal, we create the impression that as individuals we are the only group to rule the people, then we are bound to end up in isolation. The realistic application of Marxist-Leninist tactics by the Cuban Communist Party in support of the national liberation movement of Cuba led by Fidel Castro is worthy of very close study.

It follows therefore that in countries where the national leadership is not necessarily Marxist, but simply anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, it is the duty of true Marxists-Leninists to place their services at the disposal of such a government.

It would be sheer dogmatism for Marxists-Leninists to insist that the newly emerging African states must traverse the road of capitalism from feudalism so as to afford Marxists-Leninists the luxury of creating the ideal atmosphere of a proletarian revolution.

UNITED FRONT

In the African states where power has fallen into the hands of the reactionary national bourgeoisie, the approach of the Marxist-Leninist party and the militant working class is to work for the creation of a United Front of all progressive forces and to fight for a National Democratic Revolution. Depending on the reaction of the ruling class in different countries, the path of struggle may lie in Parliamentary struggle or extra-Parliamentary struggle.

Where the Marxist-Leninist party is banned, then depending on the prevailing circumstances, the party may take up armed struggle, but great care must be taken that the populace support an armed struggle, otherwise the Marxist-Leninist party which prematurely resorts to armed struggle will soon find itself in isolation and consequently face destruction. Such a party can only do great harm to the revolutionary working class movement.

Some Marxist parties in the Latin American countries who blindly aped the Cuban revolution and took up arms have paid dearly for their mistakes.

SOVIET RECOGNITION

Another problem which has caused a great deal of confusion and accusation against the Soviet Government and other socialist countries, is the establishment of diplomatic relations with the reactionary African governments and the rendering of substantial material and financial assistance to them.

These are very important problems which require very close study. Some African Marxists feel that this is a betrayal of Marxist revolutionaries. This conception is wrong. The establishment of diplomatic relations with any African state whether reactionary or progressive is a positive and correct policy.

The fact that the national liberation movement has succeeded and freed the people from colonial rulers is a very significant development. It is a defeat for the forces of imperialism. If the Soviet Government or any socialist government refuses to recognize a newly independent

African state because the national bourgeoisie who came to power are reactionary, then the Socialist governments would cease to be Marxist-Leninist.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with reactionary African governments rather strengthens than weakens the chance of the growth of the revolutionary forces.

The African Marxists-Leninists have their own contribution to enrich the treasure trove of Marxism-Leninism. They call on our comrades everywhere to assist the national liberation movements to complete the anti-feudal and anti-colonialist struggles. They call for active support to the armed national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and 'Portuguese' Guinea against the ruthless Portuguese colonialist government. They call for support to the patriots fighting the American-controlled government of traitor Moise Tshombe in the Congo. They call for active participation in the world fight against apartheid in South Africa, and the encouragement and growth of the organization of African unity.

Long live the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties!

DEMOCRACY AND AFRICA—a Discussion

With this and the following stimulating articles we launch a new discussion series on the above theme. Readers are invited to send in their own views for publication.

AFRICA AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Mokwugo Okoye

MANY FOREIGN OBSERVERS of the African political scene have expressed anxiety as to the future of parliamentary democracy in the newly-independent states, and in particular over the trend towards the one-party state which is often considered to be the death-knell of democracy.

What is democracy, anyway?

The rule of the majority alone is not democracy, nor is the two-party system which has taken root in the Anglo-Saxon countries, and which reflects the struggle between the wealthy and privileged classes and the masses who, under middle-class leadership, have come to challenge them.

It must be admitted that, in the words of Thomas Franck, democracy cannot be measured necessarily 'in terms of numbers of voters nor by the frequency with which they are consulted, nor even by the accuracy with which votes cast are reflected in the relative strength of each political party.' Thus, for instance, it cannot be said that Georgia and Kentucky, which alone among the fifty states of the American Union permit 18-year-olds to vote, are the most democratic states. Nor can it be said that government by referendum (General De Gaulle's French recipe) is more democratic than government by representatives. It is far from clear, too, that Northern Nigeria under its feudal leadership is more 'democratic' with its multi-party system, than Guinea, with its socialist-inclined one-party system. Further, what shall we say about situations such as occurred in the United Kingdom in 1929 and 1951, in Canada in 1926, in South Africa in 1948, in Australia in 1954, and in Nigeria in 1959, where the ruling party in each case was elected by a minority of voters?

Critics of the one-party system seem to assume that the only freedom that matters is the freedom to have more than one party. But—as the United Nations Secretary-General U Thant told a British audience in 1962—'The notion that democracy requires the existence of an organized opposition to the government of the day is not valid. Democracy only requires freedom for opposition, not necessarily its organized existence.'

Granted the necessity for political parties for the proper functioning of democracy, this does not oblige one to accept the two-party system (such as the British Labour/Conservative or the U.S. Democratic/Republican formation) whose virtues have really been overrated. As an English prime minister once pointed out, the two-party system is all right 'so long as there is no fundamental difference of opinion between the two parties,' such as divides the Communists from the Conservatives. Any such difference is bound to lead, in time, to a revolution in which the weaker party will be suppressed or absorbed by the stronger.

Strictly speaking, the old parliamentary democracy as it is known in the 'Western' world is an elaborate make-believe in which politicians, seeming enemies, play a profitable game together. With the bureaucrats, they run the state, subject to the powerful influence of sinister vested interests. This parliamentary democracy, with its rituals and hypocritical routine, is often too slow for the times, and too divorced from the seat of actual power to be effective in solving the vital problems of the common people. As Nehru observed, the failing of parliamentary democracy 'is not that it has gone too far, but that it did not go far enough. It was not democratic enough, because it did not provide for economic democracy and its methods were too slow and cumbrous and unsuited to a period of rapid change.'

The right to vote, and equality before the law, in the old democracy, is mainly theoretical. In the absence of equal opportunity for all, it is those who own and control the means of production and the organs of public opinion—the factory owners, landlords, press barons and the like, the people who have reaped the benefits of good education and have the passports to good society and good employment in state and industry—it is these who ultimately rule society. It is not comforting to the ordinary man to know that he is hypothetically free to dine every night at the Hotel Olympic or to fly first class in the French

Airlines, to hire eminent lawyers to defend him when in trouble, or to run for the highest office in the state, when in fact he cannot afford these exquisite things. When Parliament debates or legislates on reforms, but leaves the instruments of reform in private hands, or when it makes the public representative the scapegoat for the bandits of finance and industry over whose actions he is denied effective control (which in effect makes Parliament itself the professional public mourner for private economic crimes) parliamentary democracy is discredited. As the late Aneurin Bevan declared, this is a division of labour ultimately fatal to representative democratic government, since it divorces parliamentary discussion from action, and thus brings discussion itself into contempt. This paves the way psychologically for fascism.

Contemporary African leaders like Gamal Abdel Nasser, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Sékou Touré and Ahmed Ben Bella have stated their preference for the one-party system rather than the multi-party system handed down to them by their predecessors. As the Ghana Convention People's Party Manifesto (1962) put it, the one-party system provides 'the best answer for government in Africa' since the newly-independent African states are in a situation 'almost analogous to a state of war and national emergency' which in all countries requires a 'national' government. Moreover, continued the Manifesto, a multi-party system is 'entirely alien to the traditional concept of Government in the African state' and encourages both intrigues from outside and corruption inside a newly-independent country. Accepting these arguments, President Nyerere of Tanganyika added afterwards that the struggle for independence and national reconstruction is a patriotic task which leaves little room for differences and needs a maximum united effort by the whole people to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease—a national emergency that calls for the union of parties and talents for the most effective mobilization of national resources.

No doubt, the method of bringing about the united party is important. A democrat will naturally prefer unity by agreement to unity by coercion, even if the latter is camouflaged by legal niceties.

The squeamish democrat may shudder at the mere mention of a one-party system, which calls up in his imagination the suppression of civil liberties and oppositional elements, concentration camps and censorship, security police and thought-control through the school, wireless, cinema, press and platform, and the like. But the truth is that these things are done to a greater or lesser degree in the so-called democratic states. The difference (and perhaps the real cause of complaint) is that in these states it is the progressives who suffer from such disabilities, whereas in the leftist totalitarian states it is the reactionaries, who prove themselves incorrigibly wedded to outmoded customs and exploitation of their fellow-men, that are suppressed. In any case, the abolition of class and racial discrimination, of backwardness and exploitation—the *raison d'etre* of the revolutionary one-party system—are goals far greater than the temporary sacrifices necessary to realize them. Inhibitions on personal freedom are bound to pass away with the conditions that brought them into being, as we are seeing today in the case of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist states where the growth of prosperity is giving rise to more democratization and devolution of powers in the state.

Africa's desire for unity has been described as 'pathological'—but the argument for a united party is no less cogent for this reason. Addressing a Paris audience in February, 1960, the Mali Minister of the Interior, M. Madeira Keita, claimed that 'the most stable governments (in Africa) were those constituted by a single party'. He added that 'while elections served to divide Africans, they also served to attenuate the awakening of national consciousness among the masses' because of the tendency of leaders 'to play up regionalism . . . and internal racism.' It must be admitted that the nihilism and intrigue with foreign powers often indulged in by opposition parties, or the colossal bribery and gerrymandering and the breaking of heads that have featured in many parliamentary elections in the newly-independent states, do not highly recommend the multi-party system for these countries. Nor do the familiar pattern of intimidation, victimization or discrimination in offices or villages by supporters of a ruling party, often including police and other personnel who are supposed to be impartial.

To quote Mr. Keita again: 'It is true that we played the game (of electioneering) for a long time, but on comparing programmes, on comparing congress resolutions, you could feel our agreement on every point. And yet we fought each other tooth and nail, passionately and furiously—only the word "passion" can express to the Africans, to the people of the land of sunshine, all the violence of our fights and our oppositions . . . . It is thus that the (African) countries have moved progressively towards the formula of a united party.' The significant exceptions are Ghana and Sierra Leone, but even in Nigeria three of the Regions are vitually governed by a one-party system, while state power has relentlessly been used in other regions to crush the opposition, as has happened in Ghana, Liberia, Morocco, Niger, Cameroun, Congo (Leopoldville) and elsewhere.

An honest critic is bound to admit that the authoritarian trends—political control of the police, judiciary and civil service, suppression of the opposition, personal bodyguard and personality cult—in the leadership of many new countries have deep roots in the earlier colonial regimes that mercilessly clamped down on their opponents, the nationalists, and relied mainly on violence and coercion to maintain themselves amid a hostile environment. Most countries in the world have passed through that phase. Beatrice Webb, the eminent British Fabian socialist, and co-author with her equally famous husband, Sidney Webb of the study *Soviet Communism a New Civilization*, expressed in 1942 the considered judgment on this subject as follows:

> A study of the facts suggests that when a revolutionary government is confronted with the task of educating a mass of illiterate and oppressed peoples, of diverse races and religions, among them primitive tribes, not only to higher levels of health and culture, but also in the art of self-government, there is no alternative to the one-party system with its refusal to permit organized political opposition to the new political and economic order.'

The experience of many countries goes to vindicate Mrs. Webb's theory. One may instance the history of Turkey under Ataturk, Egypt under Nasser, Burma under Ne Win or Cuba, in each of which a one-party system has, in a short time, brought about more all-round progress to the people and invested the nation with greater dignity and self-awareness than the corrupt, inefficient, fratricidal multi-party system of earlier regimes.

Politics is often too much 'personalised' in the new countries of Asia and Africa, with excessive hero-worship and myth-making as the consequence. The first step towards military rule in Pakistan was the split in the ruling Moslem League caused by the dismissal of Nazimuddin in 1953; similarly the conflict of the two major parties in Sudan —with the usual accompaniment of charges of intrigue and corruption —was one of the causes of military rule in Sudan. In 1962, the expulsion of the Western Nigerian premier Akintola by his party, the Action Group, led to the downfall of the party government there. Such routine drastic changes in the form of government do not automatically follow changes in leadership personnel in the older countries, with their long tradition of rule and hierarchic succession, their 'cultured' apathy and mistrust of politicians' promises. Ministers are dismissed and new men appointed without precipitating a major crisis. But one should not overstate the stability and smooth course of parliamentary rule in the 'Western' countries. All have known their interludes of assassinations, military rule and civil war.

The multi-party system failed woefully to stem the tide of fascism between the two world wars, in Italy, Portugal, Spain, Poland, Greece, Austria, Germany and France. Within the last decade, the sterility of this system contributed to the overthrow of parliamentary democracy by military dictatorships in Pakistan, Sudan, Togo, Iraq, Burma and much of Latin America. It is beside the point to say that democracy has not even been tried in these places. Some of them have been practising parliamentary democracy for 800 years; in the U.S.A. and Brazil, where it has been tried for 200 years, murder and violence are still used as a means of changing governments—just as in some Afro-Asian countries which are new to its elaborate rites.

The African concept of democracy is in many ways similar to that of the ancient Greeks, from whose language the word originated. To them it meant 'government by discussion among equals.' Under the traditional African system, decisions were reached by a consensus rather than by votes and, as someone said of Malawi, 'The elders sit under a big tree and talk until they agree.' Representation was often rotational, and division of labour as between villages and age-groups for instance, was extensively practised. No one who carried out his or her civic duties was excluded from the management of public affairs. Basically, democracy is government by discussion and participation, rather than by force; the concern of each for all and all for each; the common sharing of rights and responsibilities. No doubt, the complexities of modern life demand something more than the simple, direct democracy of the ancient city-state, and we may agree that, whatever the vagaries of popular government today, the counting of heads is a practical solution for which we have not yet devised a better substitute. No conception of democracy will be complete, however, without a guarantee of civil liberties for all, which we can define as the freedom to think, act or speak as one likes without injuring another, the freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, the right to vote, and equal opportunity for all.

These rights once guaranteed, the institutional structures of democracy are not as important as its content. Should there be one legislative chamber or two? A Presidential or Parliamentary constitution? Should there be constitutional safeguards for minority rights—language-rights (as in India, Canada, U.S.S.R. or China) or rights to land and a share in government jobs (as in Malaya, Cyprus and some Latin American States)? Should fundamental human rights and regional devolution of authority be embodied in the Constitution? These questions are less important than the growth of the feeling of equality and responsibility for the public welfare which will ensure the management of public affairs in accordance with the will of the masses. Only a long tradition of common struggle fosters this feeling of equality and common concern for the public weal.

Let me conclude this brief analysis by saying that, while it is possible to distinguish certain broad principles of democracy, no one country can rightly claim to have the last word on its forms and possible lines of development. Political systems are determined not so much by men's minds as by the conditions of their living. In many countries, the improvement in workers' conditions of living has, ironically, chilled their revolutionary ardour, just as the imperatives of socio-economic development have created the impatient revolutionary regimes in many new countries of Asia and Africa. Many Afro-Asian countries have built-in checks—religious sanctions and social customs, mass organisations such as trade unions and communal unions, and others—to arrest any trend towards personal dictatorship for selfish ends. In spite of the myth-making powers and huge machinery of coercion at the disposal of the modern state, revolution remains the ultimate court of appeal for any oppressed people. This is the guarantee that, sooner or later, they will get the government they deserve.

DEMOCRACY AND AFRICA—II

MARXISM AND THE ONE-PARTY STATE

P. Tlale

It is neither surprising nor accidental that the Western imperialists and their apologists should be the most vociferous in their attacks on the single-party state structures evolving in independent Africa. These attacks come not from any attachment to what they call democracy, but from a deep fear that national unity among the African people based on a determined programme of social and economic progress will spell doom for imperialism and its still considerable economic interests in the African continent.

The imperialists cannot have any deep attachment to democracy: it is they who through a century of colonial domination destroyed the traditional democracy that ruled among the African people, and made them the subject of sustained exploitation and profit for the imperialist countries. Their current protestations about 'personal liberty' and 'individual rights', of the right of 'opposition' parties to exist and of 'parliamentary democracy' are as unworthy as they are hypocritical. For it is they who support and assist the patently undemocratic regimes in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and in Tshombe's Congo. In South Vietnam, the American imperialists have created through the force of their own arms an avowedly puppet regime which is hated by the people. And similarly in South Korea, Venezuela and a host of other allegedly independent countries, they conspire to maintain corrupt dictatorships whose sole function is to serve the policies of the imperialist states. Thus it is not from the imperialists that we can look for any meaningful and honest contribution to the current debate on democracy and the one-party state and on the related question of the paths of development of African society in the coming years.

The current debate on these questions is nevertheless real and profoundly important. For what is now recognized to be at stake in these discussions is the future course of the African revolution itself and of the ability and speed with which the newly independent states can organize and mobilize their people to struggle against the remains of imperialist domination and overcome the immense problems of poverty and all-round backwardness. That these questions should now become the focal points of contemporary African politics, is significant and marks the great revolutionary qualities of the African people.

In this article an attempt is made to examine some of the issues in this discussion and to suggest the Marxist view on these important questions. Needless to say, Marxism is not dogma; it is not a set of stereotyped rules and laws which can be blindly applied to all events and historical situations. On the contrary, it is a science of social change which enables us to understand the complex processes which give continual birth to new forms in society, which shows that classes and class relationships are the essential motive forces in the incessant replacement of obsolete forms by new ones and which brings to bear a world outlook and approach to social and economic problems. Marxism is a guide to action, and today when the whole of the African continent is in the cauldron of gigantic changes—of giving birth to new social and political forms—the guidance of Marxism becomes profoundly urgent and necessary for the African people.

TWO LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

A central feature of the African independence struggle has been the emergence of mass national parties organized as the voice of the whole people and expressing their national demands and aspirations for political independence. Such parties came to embrace workers and peasants, intellectuals and petty-bourgeois elements as well as national capitalists. In certain instances chiefs also joined. Within these parties all the patriotic and anti-colonial classes united to struggle against colonial domination. The mass parties of Ghana, Guinea, Tanganyika, Algeria, Northern Rhodesia, Malawi and Kenya were all of this kind. They were national united fronts of their countries, all the elements in which 'agreed on the essentials and pursued the same objective, there being no reason to be divided and split into parties that fought one another'.*

There were necessarily exceptions to this otherwise common feature: parties representing sectional interests came into existence, in many cases encouraged by the colonialists, but in general the struggle for political independence as a whole came to be led by single national fronts enjoying mass support and united by common aims.

This African experience is by no means exceptional. The policy of national fronts of liberation has been a feature, and in many instances a decisive factor in every independence struggle in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Such fronts represented a coalition of those classes ranging from the workers and peasants to the national capitalists or bourgeoisie, who were exploited and oppressed by the foreign imperialists and their local puppets. This experience and the degree to which this coalition remained united in its aims, have more than anything else fashioned the shape of governments and states in the ex-colonial countries. It is here that two clear and distinct lines of development can be seen.

The first line is represented by the determination of the coalition of classes in the national front to pursue their revolution even after the transfer of power, that is, to systematically work for the complete removal of all foreign colonial influence, to win back the nation's resources and wealth usurped by the imperialist monopolies, to remove the remains of feudal and tribal influences and pursue policies of social and economic reform. Such policies call for the participation of, and must involve, the mass of the people in the post-independence national reconstruction. Here most clearly, the revolution will be carried forward from the phase of liberation from foreign political domination to liberation in the wider sense, that is, liberation from backwardness, poverty and economic dependence. With such policies and such a line of development the state enters what is termed as the stage of new or 'national democracy'—a stage in which the machinery of the state and character of democracy takes a clear and distinct form. The principal characteristics of the policies of the state in this phase was broadly spelt out in the statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 as follows:

> A state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs on its territory; a state which fights against new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic forms of Government; a state in which the people are assured broad democratic rights and freedoms, the opportunity to work for the enactment of agrarian

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*Madeira Keita: *Presence Africain*, No. 30, February 1960.

reforms and the realization of other democratic and social changes and for participation in shaping government policy.

Inevitably, the success of this line of development depends upon the alliance of the revolutionary classes in the liberation fronts. The workers and peasants as indeed sections of the intellectuals and petty-bourgeois class possess a deep and abiding interest in carrying forward the anti-imperialist revolution to win a state of national democracy. Their class position is synonymous with progress in every field. They do not want and will fight against any movement which attempts to create a new system of exploitation and oppression in the place of the colonial system. But can the same be said of the national bourgeoisie—that class of local capitalists who live on the labour of others? Such a class most certainly has an interest and invariably participates in the anti-imperialist alliance and often occupies a leading place in national liberation fronts. This is understandable precisely because the national bourgeoisie find that their economic positions are trampled upon and severely limited by the imperialist monopolies who control the country's resources and enjoy special privileges in the economy.

But history is replete with examples of another and contradictory tendency among the class of national capitalists and to a lesser extent among petty-bourgeois elements. They become inconsistent in the post-independence period; they show an inclination toward unprincipled compromises with imperialism; they hesitate to build up national industries and show more than a liberal attitude and approach towards the role of foreign capital in their country. This is the class that has proved itself most prone to ditching the revolution once it occupies the seats of state power. We need only look at the so-called independent states of Latin America to see the truth of this. There the local bourgeoisie have so compromised the independence of their countries as to make them little more than client states of U.S. imperialism; their wealth and resources are dominated by the imperialist monopolies while their regimes are corrupt and undemocratic. Only in Cuba where the alliance under the leadership of Fidel Castro has remained united, has the revolution been carried forward and real independence won. It is this dual character of the national bourgeoisie which marks the possibility of a second line of development. Here the bourgeoisie and their supporters through their control of the machinery of the state undermine the further progress of the struggle for national independence and real democracy. They pursue policies which tend to preserve the post-colonial *status quo* in agreement with the imperialists and the feudal class. In this situation the character of the state and of democracy is different.

These, then, are the two lines of development in the colonial and the semi-colonial countries—one, to carry forward the anti-imperialist revolution and the other, to seek compromises and betray the revolution

AFRICA AND THE TWO LINES

How far can these two tendencies be seen to exist in Africa? The African revolution is still in its infancy and it may not be either possible or necessary here to take a conclusive view of the African situation in general. This at least is suggested by the fact that classes in Africa are still in the process of formation. Compared to the movements of liberation in other parts of the world, the African movement has been less conditioned by or subject to class differences in the struggle for independence. The national bourgeoisie is generally small and weak: the colonialists only gave limited opportunities for the bourgeois to develop into a sizeable and cohesive class. Further, as Jack Woddis points out, 'mobility between classes in Africa is considerable . . . workers are migrants or conscripted peasants and many peasants are casual workers'.*

Thus, it was possible to organize large mass parties, all the elements of which were united by the common aims of winning political independence.

The successes in the struggle for political independence have in general not weakened or disrupted the broad unity of the people in these mass African parties. Rather, what has proved to be significant of the African situation is the broad unanimity that has been achieved in the greater majority of the newly-independent states in favour of a non-capitalist path forward and for policies of a socialist nature. On the other hand, it is clear, and the evidence for this is formidable, that the imperialist countries are excessively busy trying to find and cooperate with bourgeois elements in independent Africa, and through them to secure some influence over the governments concerned. In the Congo their intervention has been blatant; they have put into power their own discredited agents and nominees. Elsewhere they have encouraged rival parties and groupings. Through aid and capital exports, they have tried to influence the governments of free Africa away from the path of non-capitalist development. For, as Dr. Nkrumah puts it.

> The imperialists of today endeavour to achieve their ends not merely by military means, but by economic penetration, cultural assimilation, ideological domination, psychological infiltration and subversive activities even to the point of inspiring and promoting assassination and civil strife.†

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* *Africa, The Way Forward*, London, 1963.

† Statement to the First Conference of African Independent States, Accra, April 1958.

That the imperialists try to go to these lengths is a measure of the opportunities they see for creating a class of compromisers in independent Africa and to use them to cut short and betray the African revolution.

These opportunities certainly exist. Despite the claims of several African leaders, the formation and growth of classes is developing apace. Class formation is a fact of history and Africa will be no exception to this experience. The indications are already clear. There is a rapidly growing working class in almost all the independent African states—a growth which was already apparent in the colonial period.

A new bourgeoisie is arising from the ranks of the big traders and rich farmers. As Jack Woddis points out (*Africa—The Way Forward*, p. 129)

> Some (Africans) have large farms and employ Africans as agricultural workers, some people own shops and carry on trade and some are owners or part owners of enterprises employing African workers.

Often the sons of these exploiting elements become intellectuals who enter the administrations. Even among the smaller bourgeois forces the most strenuous efforts are made to utilize their political positions to acquire further economic strength. This is especially true of some countries in West Africa. It is among such elements that the imperialists are most active, and in certain instances this has given rise to corruption and despotic rule.

In his book *Which Way Africa?*,* Basil Davidson (whose studies in African history have distinguished him as a particularly sympathetic and outstanding 'Africanist'), suggests that the formation and promotion to power of leading 'élites' or 'middle classes' was an important feature of colonial policy—a policy which the colonial powers 'thought wise and necessary'.

He explains:

> For it is a fact, by and large, that such leading élites and middle classes have largely collapsed under the strain of political independence. Some have retired into profitable corruption, others into old-fashioned habits of colonial authoritarianism, still others into a more or less sterile defence of the status quo.

He cites what René Damont, the 'notably pro-African' French economist, found in parts of the former French African colonies—'to high salaries, there are often added fine villas splendidly furnished, or even palaces for Ministers, the whole of the upkeep being paid for by the budget'. And most telling is the confession of a peasant of the Kameroun countryside: 'independence is not for us, it's for the people in the towns'. In Guinea, President Sekou Toure found that 'among the party members, there are those for whom independence was first and foremost a chance to take the place of the *colons*'. In Ghana, Nkrumah found reason (in his famous dawn broadcast) to condemn luxury living and the personal dissipation of national wealth. Corruption in Nigeria was widely exposed in an enquiry into the affairs of the Western Region Marketing Board. The Commission of Enquiry showed that a number of people who could appropriately be placed in the ranks of the 'ruling circle', saw their country more as a vehicle of personal advancement, and as the Commission put it, 'we also came across evidence of reckless and indeed atrocious and criminal mismanagement and diversion of public funds'.

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* Penguin, London, 1964.

The tendency for 'middle class' leaderships to pursue undemocratic methods of rule, especially in their attitudes and policy towards trade unions and progressive elements is also widely apparent. These then are the senses in which it can be said that when the time comes to tear up the roots of imperialism and introduce agrarian and other reforms, the difference in class interests come more and more into the open.

It is this fluidity of internal class relations in many parts of independent Africa which bears heavily on the future course of the African revolution. And it can by no means be taken for granted, no matter how favourable the present situation, that all the independent countries under their present leaderships and the parties in power will choose the first line of development and pursue with vigour the advance of the revolution for a new and a national democracy. This then must be the context in which the single party state and democracy in Africa should be considered.

THE STATE AND DEMOCRACY

The origin of the state as an organized instrument of power is linked with the appearance of classes in society. There were no states, as we understand them today, in classless communal and tribal societies; and thus it was possible in such classless societies to obtain what President Nyerere has called 'agreement among the people', by 'the elders sitting under a big tree and talking until they agree'. Rather the modern state, with its heavy machinery of coercion—the army, the police and a vast body of laws and regulations—becomes an instrument of direction and government on behalf of the class in power. In relation to the opponents of the class in power, it acts as an instrument of suppression and coercion. This in the sense in which all states take the character of a *dictatorship*. What distinguishes one kind of state from another depends on who and which class is in command of the dictatorship and against whom or which class it is imposed.

The bourgeois states of the West, whether they take the form of a constitutional republic or an open dictatorship of the fascist type, all remain the instrument in the hands of the class in power, that is, the capitalists. The modern bourgeois democratic republics, which are the result of the people's struggle against absolutism and monarchical rule, certainly possess representative forms of government, trial by jury and other democratic institutions. But the economic system of capitalism which prevails in such bourgeois republics is a system of exploitation of the wage earners who comprise the majority of the population. The state serves to sanctify and safeguard this system and thus suppress any real opposition that may come from the workers. The bourgeois state remains a dictatorship of the capitalist class despite the benevolent and representative character of its democratic institutions. By contrast, the socialist state, as is found in the socialist countries, is characterized by a dictatorship of the proletariat against the remains of capitalism and landlordism. Here, because the workers, who with the peasants, represent the vast majority of the population, the dictatorship takes the most democratic and popular form.

Between these two types of state systems, stands the 'state of national democracy'. This represents that form of the state which is most appropriate in the colonial and semi-colonial countries following their revolution. Such a state is democratic because it exists under the joint dictatorship of several anti-imperialist classes, that is, the vast majority of the people. United by the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, such a state is able to meet and solve all the complicated questions of economic and social reform, of industrial development and of raising the living standards of the people. That is, such a state satisfies the unique historical condition in which the colonial and semi-colonial countries find themselves after liberation. And as experience has shown only such a state system can ensure really universal franchise, irrespective of race, creed, property or education, which can create organs of government elected to represent each revolutionary class (as did exist in the national fronts of liberation), which can express the people's will and inspire the spirit of a new popular democracy. Such a state system will necessarily be a transitory one: the further development of the revolution, the winning of greater freedoms for the people, that is, freedom from want, from the lack of education and skills and from the lack of opportunity, will necessarily add new features to the state system, all of which will inevitably be linked to the class changes that must evolve in the alliance of the anti-imperialist forces in power.

Thus in the pursuance of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal progressive revolution, the African people have the choice between such state of national democracy or that of the type ruling in the bourgeois countries. There can be now little doubt that in several African countries the balance of choice is moving increasingly in the direction of states of national democracy in which the joint dictatorship of the anti-imperialist and progressive classes are or will be in power. In Algeria, the Front of National Liberation encompasses all the main anti-imperialist forces and is forging ahead with its revolutionary programme. Similarly, in Ghana, the Convention People's Party under the leadership of President Nkrumah, pursues revolutionary and anti-imperialist aims which are fashioning and determining the role and character of the state structure. The states of Guinea and Mali also possess these features.

The choice of such a state system and such a popular democracy brings in its train a certain logic to the further development of the African revolution. The tasks before such a state call for increasingly non-capitalist and socialist measures; the state will take new and considerable intiatives in all branches of production and exchange, it will introduce more and more co-operative forms of enterprise, redistribute the land of the colonial elements (as have taken place in Algeria) and give the peasantry a new and a fuller place in society. In other words, the revolution pursues paths which gradually but decisively reduce the elements of exploitation in society, thus ensuring not only maximum economic growth, but willing participation of the entire people in all the tasks of economic and social reconstruction.

For Africa to choose the alternative of the bourgeois state amounts in fact to choosing continued dependence on imperialism. Such a choice must mean that the state becomes the instrument of those capitalistic and feudal classes most dependent on the foreign imperialists. It is they, too, whether through single parties or otherwise, would constitute the dictatorship. But the main feature of such dictatorships in the ex-colonial countries always turns out to be dependence on imperialism. In any case the opportunities for the free growth of an independent class of national capitalists in Africa are severely limited. In most of the countries concerned, the imperialist monopolies are not only the biggest employers of labour but dominate all the important branches of the economy.

The local bourgeoisie can thus function only under the seemingly indirect control and influence of these monopolies. The example of Latin America is most pertinent in this respect. Despite the existence of 'independent' regimes all of them, with the exception of revolutionary Cuba, are virtual colonies of the United States. As Woddis has put it, 'feudalism, illiteracy, disease and stifling dictatorships—that is the end of the former Latin American colonies striving to take the capitalist path', while the United States drains off some $1,500 million a year in profits from these countries. That, too, would be the fate of independent Africa taking the road of bourgeois dictatorships and capitalism—a fate which Tshombe seems bent on bringing to the Congo at the behest of the imperialists.

WHERE THE WORKERS STAND

These then seem to be the kind of considerations which enable Marxists to judge and formulate policies towards the one-party state system developing in Africa. These considerations call for concrete analyses of the aims of the revolution in the post-independence period in each country, the policies of the single-party in power and the class character of the state and the party's leadership. Hence, in applying Marxism to the African situation, there can be no mechanical and blind acceptance or rejection of the concept and the system of single-party states as such.

Today, the role of the emerging class of workers, allied closely with the mass of the peasantry, is central to the struggle for a correct choice of the path forward in Africa. If the workers find that their activities are limited within the single party: that, should the emerging capitalist forces join with imperialism, no matter how indirect, and assume dictatorial control of the party, then it is as inevitable, as it becomes necessary, that the working class would seek to establish a new front of the progressive anti-imperialist forces to defend their own interests and those of the nation and work for real freedom and independence. On the other hand, where the anti-imperialist forces join together and maintain a popular dictatorship through a single-party system, the working class will not only participate, but undoubtedly become the central and leading core of the struggle forward for complete liberation and social and economic progress.

ACROSS THE COLOUR LINE

Some remarks on South African writing

SCHEEPERS FOURIE

A DETAILED EXAMINATION of South African art and literature in relation to the development of South African society is a task which awaits undertaking. Until such a work has been completed, interpretation of our cultural life must be confined to a certain amount of generalization which, however, cannot ignore the events which affect society.

The people of South Africa are in the throes of a struggle, the struggle between the forces of reaction and those of progress, between white supremacy in its worst forms and the oppressed non-white masses demanding equality, freedom and democracy for all—a condition essential to the progress of all mankind. In contemplating a policy of armed struggle, side by side with the political, the forces of democracy are ushering in the climax of a long history of national oppression and struggle for emancipation.

Inevitably, the revolt against apartheid and white supremacy in the political and economic life of South Africa has also given rise to a similar revolution in intellectual and artistic spheres. Indeed, the Nationalist Party and its protagonists foresaw this, hence the banning of books since the early stages of the Government's reign, the suppression of writings by listed or banned opponents, and the Censorship Act. Recently the witch-hunting 'Volkskongress' on 'Communism' made much of recommending action against the 'liberalistic' Press, and set up committees to deal with all aspects of the country's life, including education, art and culture. The Nationalist Government took no 'official' part in the congress, but its blessing is clearly implied in its pleasure that the 'anti-communist' policy was 'spontaneous'.

The whole programme of Nationalist concern with art and culture in South Africa is clear proof that there exists opposition to undemocratic practices, on the part of writers and artists.

At the same time it would be wrong to conclude that present artistic protest against tyranny in South Africa is solely the result of the policies of the present regime. Many writers and artists in South

Africa's history have entertained sentiments of genuine humanity towards the underprivileged and oppressed, particularly towards the non-whites; while African writers have in one way or another called for a better life for their people.

Neither do we maintain that all writers who protest against Nationalist interference (like those who protested against censorship) are demanding, through the medium of their work, democracy for all South Africans. It is probable that many of them are concerned only with the right of their own profession to give expression to whatever ideas it wishes. But then, even this demand for liberal democracy in art is a revolutionary one, in the eyes of the Nationalists.

But the emergence of writers who today make no bones about demanding the abolition of the colour-bar, and indeed the entire system of suppression, is the culmination of the evolution of cultural thought which has taken place over decades and which, like the political struggle, is reaching crystallization within the milieu of extreme reaction.

The development of the democratic and socialist revolutions must give rise to more and more revolutionary intellectuals among the non-whites and working-class, particularly, and to the emergence of a revolutionary art and literature dedicated to the winning of a new life for man in Africa.

Progressive attitudes and trends inevitably emerge out of all societies, and no less out of South Africa with its long history of suppression of subject peoples. Society consists of people actively and socially engaged in working with the world of nature and transforming it. As they carry on the labour process, changing the world, adapting it to human use, they both discover the make-up of the world and change themselves.

Art is the product of human beings in society. It makes use of all the socially created means of reflecting and thinking about reality, such as spoken or written language, drawing and painting, musical composition and acting, modelling etc., in order to give objective form to man's consciousness of himself and his changing relations to the outer world of people and nature.

Through the labour process, nature's secrets are progressively discovered, its laws are revealed to become the instrument of human progress, and the mind is enriched by the discovery of its manifold qualities. With the progressive conflicts in and the reorganization of society carried on by people, there is discovery, understanding and mastery of the laws which govern the organization of society. Human relations become more 'human' in the sense that antagonisms are replaced by kinship and understanding, and through co-operation the individual is enabled to develop more freely.

Thus, the history of art is a record of the successive stages in the humanization of reality, revealing the constant change and expansion of the awareness of life.

Thus, too, despite the black history of South Africa, in the sphere of literature this awareness of changing relations, the humanization of reality has been and continues to be reflected in the works of writers of South Africa's past and present.

It was during the period of the anti-slavery movement that feelings of humanitarianism began to creep into the writings about South Africa by white writers of that time. Thomas Pringle, for example, a leading figure in the abolitionist movement, wrote highly romanticized accounts of the 'Hottentots' in his *African Sketches*, and despite the neglect of any attempt to portray them as dynamic characters, the work nevertheless contrasts with such as *Skankwan Van Die Duine* by the Hobson Brothers.

Olive Schreiner, in her work, displayed greater feeling for the aborigines of this country than did the early Dutch farmers who shot them off like game. It was her outlook, her willingness to explore the truth, which led to her producing one of the greatest, truly South African novels.

Of *The Story Of An African Farm*, Olive Schreiner wrote: 'It has been suggested by a kind critic that he would better have liked the little book if it had been a history of wild adventure; of cattle driven into inaccessible 'krantzes' by Bushmen: 'of encounters with ravening lions and hairbreadth escapes'. This could not be. Such works are best written in Piccadilly or the Strand. . . . But, should one sit down to paint the scenes among which he has grown, he will find that the facts creep in upon him. . . . Sadly he must squeeze the colour from the brush, and dip it into the grey pigments around him. He must paint what lies before him.'

In the preface to his book, *Daniel Vananda—the Life Story of A Human Being* (1922), William Charles Scully came nearer the truth about racial antagonism in South Africa than other writers of his time. He points to the economic exploitation of the Africans, the institution of the 'civilized labour' policy which gave preference to the whites. 'Previous to the Union of South African States, thousands of Natives were employed upon the railways at a daily wage of one shilling and sixpence. Afterwards, however, all were dismissed, their places being taken by poor Europeans who, although much less efficient than the Native—according to the expressed opinion of the superior Railway Authorities—were paid far more than double the Natives' wages.'

Scully states that 'Both European races in South Africa are inimical to the Native', and attempts to give historical reasons for this. He tries to expose the contradictions of the 'civilizing' mission of the whites, and further, 'in its reserves of Native labour South Africa has possessed an enormous and unique economic advantage. . . . Native labour has been the most copious, the most efficient and most amenable of any unskilled labour of which industrialism has had experience. . . . It is commonplace to say that in South Africa ninety-nine hundredths of the unskilled labour of the present day is performed by Black Men. So much the Natives have done for us. What have we done for them? This is a terrible question which will call for an answer on the day of the Great Assize. In the meantime the Native may learn the art of combination—or adopt Mohammedanism. And then—?' In a footnote to the latter remarks, Scully states significantly: 'This was written before Bolshevism was invented.'

Thus Scully's preface is perhaps more noteworthy by virtue of its observations, than the story itself. But *Daniel Vananda* attempts to describe with sympathy, not unmixed with melodrama, the life of an African who leaves his tribal environment to journey to the big city, and his experiences in the modern world.

This is a theme which has been used oft-times by South African writers, but these stories always seem to conclude with the rejection of the advanced life by the African, and his return to his tribal home, overlooking the fact that millions of Africans have over decades come to settle in the cities as permanent members of the South African proletariat.

William Plomer, with a biting sense of irony, rebelled against the accepted values of white South African society, and presented a protest against the immoral principles upon which the conception of white supremacy and the so-called 'civilizing' mission of the whites in Africa, were based.

In the words of the poet Roy Campbell:

Plomer, 'twas you who, though a boy in age,
Awoke a sleepy continent to rage,
Who dared alone to thrash a craven race
And hold a mirror to its dirty face.

Over the same period there also emerged the works of indigenous African intellectuals who were bent on portraying the life and history of their people. These writers presented with a sense of pride the powers and achievements of their leaders, consciously or unconsciously challenging the conceptions which the whites entertained in regard to their people. Men like Dr. John L. Dube and R. R. Dhlomo produced several books in the vernacular, dealing with the lives of Chaka, Dingaan, Cetewayo, etc. These works could be described as the beginnings of African nationalism in the literary field. And it is a tribute to these writers that they did not reject the artistic influence of white poets like Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Byron. Indeed, Solomon Plaatje, first secretary of the African National Congress, brilliantly translated the works of Shakespeare into the Tswana language, apart from turning out other writings.

It is inevitable that in South Africa 'progressiveness' should be measured by attitudes towards matters concerning the non-whites. English-language writers, on the whole, with their association with liberal and social democratic thought inherited from the history of Europe, have preserved much of their advanced opinions in their writings, so that it is relatively easy to trace the course of progressive ideas from the earliest times.

The Afrikaner people have regrettably been associated with reactionary attitudes since their early association with the aboriginal inhabitants, and the Afrikaner withdrawal from the advance of modern society for the confined atmosphere of rural life and feudalism, and the armed laager. Thus Afrikaans writing has in the main extolled the virtues of the voortrekker, or has been concerned with the romantic problems of family life or the beauties of the South African countryside. The non-white has been portrayed either as the marauder, the noble savage or the faithful servant.

However it is impossible for people to exist in a vacuum, and with the development of South Africa, the Afrikaner has become inevitably involved with all aspects of society. It is equally impossible for a people to continue to entertain the ideas and thoughts of their forbears in perpetuity, so that the Afrikaner intelligentsia gave rise to those of its numbers who desired a reassessment of the attitudes towards others who are going to continue to share society with them, whether they like it or not.

Among these dissidents we have the examples of such as Andre Brink and Jan Rabie, both Afrikaners who refused to be hemmed in by the laager of narrow nationalistic conceptions, and who stepped out of the ring to investigate the surrounding world.

Brink is at the moment under fire from Afrikaans 'cultural' bodies who are complaining about his *Lobola Vir Die Lewe*.

A little earlier, another Afrikaner writer, Frans Venter, produced his *Swart Pelgrim* (later translated into English, *Black Pilgrim*), and like Scully in English, attempted to bring to the Afrikaans-reading public a picture of what happens to the black man in the white man's world. The Afrikaans publishers at first hesitated to bring out the book, for many things said had not been said before in that language. The novel caused a flurry mainly because it was written by an Afrikaner, but as a work it embraced the well-known theme of the 'alien' African trying to adapt himself to the 'foreign' city. It was passed by *Die Transvaler* apparently because the author 'presents the sober facts' of the situation, and 'at no point takes sides'—these are conditions which more often than not guarantee the acceptance of 'controversial' books. Nevertheless, here was another attempted incursion into the real atmosphere of South Africa.

But Paton succeeded with this theme in greater measure. Alan Paton in *Cry The Beloved Country* was less fearful of taking the racial bull by the horns, and as a result the subject was treated with all the realism and stark tragedy of South African society. The breakdown of African tribal life and the effects of the industrial urban areas on the transplanted people, the brutal machinery of modern enslavement together with its attendant humiliation, poverty and hardships are all in the pages of this book. It was his fearless entrance into this world which gained Paton acclaim.

Again, in Nadine Gordimer's *World of Strangers* the portrayal of the African is a departure from the usual picture of a black man, and he is given a more human aspect, and not treated as a curiosity.

The playwright, Athol Fugard, with his *Blood Knot* made another brilliant contribution towards the revelation of the truth of the South African situation.

The handicap under which all honest writers labour in South Africa is the gulf which exists between the racial groups. For this reason they are unfortunately tripped up when attempting to portray life across the colour line. Hence many of the best works have suffered criticism for unrealism when focusing across that line. This can be excused, for while acknowledging that a truly South African literature will emerge in an atmosphere of unity and equality of all people, it would be ridiculous to suggest that all writing on the racial construction of this country cease until that stage is reached.

The point is that, whatever their failing, writers have tried to bridge the gulf to open the eyes of people on both sides to the dilemma of this country.

Once art has opened people's minds and eyes to the qualities of people and nature, this revelation can be permanently theirs. It becomes part of their thoughts and perceptions, and serves to create a greater intimacy between themselves and the real world around them. The revelations provided by art thus become a common social possession. Society ultimately accepts only what serves it, only what enables it to grow, for otherwise it perishes.

A fault of much writing by progressives in South Africa, however, seems to be their preoccupation with the exploration of the non-white people and their lives, and the attempts to present solutions to the 'race problem' thereby, overlooking the fact, apparently, that there exist people other than blacks who have problems. It is high time that a work about life as the white people themselves truly live it today, was written. This would be an admirable contribution to South African literature.

The Afrikaans poet, Uys Krige, who fought for the Republican Government in the Spanish Civil War, has done much in his field to bring his people to life on paper. In his work we get the feeling of the Afrikaner people as human beings, ordinary people who like all others suffer the attacks of life, who are influenced by their prejudices and whims, and who live in a world fraught with contradictions. Krige, with a genuine sense of internationalism, has striven to lift Afrikaans out of mere South Africanism, and at the same time has done much in the investigation of Afrikaans folk-lore, and also enriched the language with his brilliant translations of the works of great Spanish poetry, like those of Lorca.

Following in the trail of non-white writers such as those who have been mentioned earlier, have come several who are today bent on depicting the life of their people in the spirit of protest against the encirclement by racial barriers and the oppression of the colour-bar. That they have adopted an attitude of indignation is to be expected, for being nearest to the oppressed majority of South Africa, they share the humiliation of apartheid. So their portrayal of the life of their people has tended to be truer than the efforts of their white contemporaries.

True, there are at the moment relatively few of them, and the pace of life of the non-whites is such that the short story, rather than the long novel, predominates as the easiest medium of social protest in the literary field. One can point to works by such as Mphahlele, T. H. Gwala, Richard Rive and others, and note that non-white writers have come to part with the approach of their literary forbears who believed that moral and religious argument would change the heart of the oppressors. They demand freedom as a birthright, and unlike their white contemporaries, they have no 'racial problems' to solve by way of idealistic or 'controversial' debate. These are the writers of revolt, who have no qualms about combining art with the struggle for emancipation and democracy.

There are no doubt considerable writers in the vernacular yet undiscovered. Several of these contribute works for use in schools, and so are frustrated in their expression because they have to be passed by the Bantu Education Department. Undoubtedly, a vast amount of treasure will be uncovered once the impeding rubble of apartheid rule has been removed.

The scrutinizing eyes of officialdom have released for consumption only those things which satisfy the requirements of white supremacy and the *status quo*, and thus South African students and the general readership have for decades been offered the confined works such as Celliers, Leipoldt, Totius etc., and newspapers have opened their pages to story writers who in many instances have brilliantly sketched life, but who consciously or unconsciously, avoided asking to change it.

Never stingy with their praise for their artists, the South African ruling-class have encouraged them with grants, bursaries, medals and awards, and have won over people of brilliant talent.

Poets like Adam Small and S. V. Petersen have employed their great gifts in portraying the life of the oppressed Coloured community by way of their verses. But it is the life of the colourful argot of that people, and of the twanging guitars, the Cockney-like humour, the religion and the wine-drinking, the music and *joie de vivre*. The 'quaint' Coloured community hoping that *alles sal reg kom* one day, or that God will finally solve all their problems. All this too, is life, of course, but it is the life which the white supremacist appreciates. One may criticize, but not demand. It is once again the portrayal of the faithful servant, the noble savage of romantic literature.

In contrast there are other writings about the Coloured community. Alex La Guma in *A Walk In The Night* and several other stories, reaches out to tear away the mask of 'quaintness', and to reveal life among the people in all its tragedy and humiliation; to show them, for all their much-admired *joie de vivre*, as a people, like the rest of South Africa's, struggling for dignity and recognition against the cruelty and injustices of the world; and to condemn the system which causes their degradation.

In the main it is the non-white writer who has come nearest the truth of the South African situation. This could not be otherwise, since the contradictions of a capitalist system aggravated by the colour-bar have in their development brought awareness of its fundamentals more strikingly to the non-whites and the working-class, than to any other section. It is to be expected then, that with the revelation of these contradictions, thought among this section of the people will take on a more and more revolutionary aspect, become more and more socialistic.

The white intellectual, whose political, social and economic superiority is maintained, whether he likes it or not, by the colour-bar, may become genuinely concerned, or even conscience-stricken, and thus attempt to break away and search for 'solutions' to the dilemma of South Africa. This, as we have tried to show, has happened already, but his cultural and intellectual attacks have hitherto been confined to the superstructure of society. Thus the liberal-bourgeois-democratic artists are concerned with 'injustice', 'the inherent goodness in people', 'greed', 'a change of heart', 'reassessment', 'they don't understand', or morality in general. Admirable conceptions, perhaps, considering the present strategic objectives of the working-class movement in South Africa.

But the famous statement of Marx in the *Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* says, *inter alia:*

> 'The sum total of (these) relations of production constitute the *economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.* The mode of production of material life conditions the *social, political, and intellectual life process in general.* It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness . . . *With the change of the economic foundations the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.*' (My italics, S.F.)

It is therefore in the basic structure of South African society that the ultimate answer to the racial question lies.

Of course, some writers might take offence, and argue that it is not the business of art to advocate revolution. To say the least, we are certain that progressive writers do not use social conditions purely as a basis for demonstrations of their talent. The content of art is its discovered truth of life, or in other words, its contribution to social consciousness. The work of art, to be of any merit, must not be divorced from reality, for truth, after all, is to be discovered in reality and its process of change.

South Africa is able to look back with pride upon the contributions made by those who have searched for the truth, and so shine like beacons in our dark past. Writers and artists must be prepared to keep in step with the advance of history in order that South Africa may be enriched by their works, for as we have stated, society, in the long run, retains only those things which serve it.

In the words of the nineteenth-century Russian writer and critic, N. G. Chernyshevsky, 'All human activity must serve mankind if it is not to remain a useless and idle occupation'.

NEW BOOKS ON SOUTH AFRICA

Z. Nkosi

INCREASING WORLD INTEREST in South African affairs is evidenced by the spate of books on the country which flow in a continuous stream from the presses. In the month of September 1964 alone, five books were produced in England on South Africa, three examining the Transkei experiment and Bantustans in general as a possible solution to the race problem in South Africa; while two examine the prospect of applying economic sanctions to South Africa in the hope of breaking the present impasse between the government and the governed.

The three books which examine the partition theory are *Whither the Transkei*? by W. A. Bellwood, *Bantustans, the Fragmentation of South Africa* by Christopher R. Hill, and *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt* by Govan Mbeki.

The first need not detain us long. The author, correspondent of the London *Times* and on the staff of a Johannesburg newspaper, writes up the Transkei almost in the style of a travelogue, giving us details of the scenery and commenting on the personalities he meets during the course of a visit in November 1963 as a guest of the South African Department of Information. His observations are incredibly naive and he shows little true understanding of the nature of the problem presented by the Government's Bantustan experiment. Nor does he present adequate information to enable the reader to judge for himself what is happening in the Transkei. One must accept his value judgments more or less on trust. His book ends with the question posed in the title: 'The Transkei would have a better chance if it was allowed to develop with the full aid of white people who wish both it and South Africa well. It is the hobbling effect of restriction in this field, and the clash of African personalities and temperaments in the political sphere, which raise the question—whither the Transkei?' The restriction on the entry of white capital into the Transkei, he feels, makes it impossible for the territory to stand on its own feet economically. But that this exposes the true aims of the Nationalists in creating Bantustans he apparently fails to realize.

Christopher Hill's study of Bantustans is more scholarly and authoritative, perhaps spoilt only by the author's over-anxiety to appear impartial and judicious, with the result that he sometimes gives the impression of praising with faint damns because he is too timid to condemn the Bantustan policy for the fraud that it is. This, no doubt, is the explanation for the misapprehension under which some reviewers have laboured that Mr. Hill thinks the Bantustan experiment can work; in the South African press, indeed, the book has been written up as favourable to the viewpoint of the South African Government—a verdict which we have no doubt Mr. Hill finds highly embarrassing. But then, he has only himself to blame. In the South African set-up one must be prepared to call a spade a spade, and to take Bantustan at its face value and examine it as a serious contribution to the solution of the race problem is to ignore facts.

'It seems clear that South African statesmen are to be believed when they say that the goal (of the Transkei experiment) is independence,' says Mr. Hill, then going on to examine the implications of an independent Bantustan and its possibility for development. But it is by no means clear that the goal of the Nationalist Government is independence. In fact, both Verwoerd and de Wet Nel have made it clear that, far from desiring independence, they would concede it only under the most extreme pressure. And they have also made it clear that the sort of independence they would be prepared to grant the Transkei would make it impossible for the territory to develop along lines unacceptable to White South Africa. In fact, the Nationalists would be prepared to grant independence to the Transkei only on condition that the Transkei never acted independently of South Africa—which is no sort of independence at all. Even Mr. Hill notes that many Government officials 'seem to regard independence as a pipe-dream', while his own judgment is that 'in areas other than the Transkei the idea of independence seems fantastic'. His concluding paragraph reads:

> Meanwhile South Africa proceeds with a policy which demands laws of incredible severity for its orderly application. However sincerely it is believed in, however genuinely White South Africans are convinced of the justice of their cause and of the rightness of their policy of racial separation, political and economic considerations both enforce the belief that they are bound to fail.

One argument which Mr. Hill advances in favour of the Bantustan 'homelands' and African townships in urban areas, is that they are the only areas in which Africans can enjoy freehold title to land. 'The importance of the sense of security which genuine ownership brings with it cannot be over-estimated', he says in relation to Umlazi township near Durban. True, but there is no such thing as freehold title to land for an African—except in those few Black spots which it is the Government's intention to abolish. The most an African can expect is the granting of a title to land, either by a chief or a Government official, which can be withdrawn at any time. Ultimate land ownership continues to vest in the community, in the Native Trust or in the State. For an African, his home can never be his castle. He can be evicted at any time by the stroke of an official pen. The sense of security which derives from freehold land title in South Africa is strictly for 'Europeans only'—and even they can be, and some have been, dispossessed under the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

Mr. Hill's book contains plenty of useful facts and figures, and an interesting account of the way in which Chiefs Poto and Sabata were outmanoeuvred and the bid for power in the Transkei Assembly was settled in favour of Matanzima.

EFFECTIVE INDICTMENT

By far the most effective indictment of the Bantustan bluff, however, is provided in the book by Govan Mbeki, Rivonia trialist now serving a life sentence on Robben Island for sabotage. Attractively produced and with a graphic cover design, this is one of the most interesting titles in the Penguin African Library, written from the inside by a man with an intimate knowledge of his subject and the people of the Transkei.

Mr. Mbeki has no illusions.

> 'The Transkei,' he says, 'is as firmly subject to the demands of White supremacy as ever it was. The people of the Transkei had no say in the drafting of their constitution. The elections held in 1963 took place under a state of emergency which imposed a ban on all meetings of more than ten persons, laid down severe penalties for "statements disrespectful to chiefs", and permitted the indefinite detention, without warrant or trial, of political opponents.'

It is a measure of the political consciousness of the African people that in spite of these disabilities, they elected a majority of anti-apartheid candidates to the Assembly. That they were unable to prevent Matanzima from coming to power is only due to the fact that the elected forty-five members are in the minority, the majority of the Assembly consisting of the sixty-four chiefs who sit *ex officio* and who are, with few exceptions, Government men, paid and manipulated by the officials.

The first part of Mr. Mbeki's book deals with the way in which successive South African Governments, United Party as well as Nationalist, have gradually whittled away the political rights of the African people until finally, under the Promotion of Bantu Self-

Government Act of 1959, the last vestige of African representation in the White man's Parliament was eliminated and the myth of 'Bantu self-government in the Reserves' substituted.

Mr. Mbeki quotes the words of the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei after the special session of the Bunga had decided to accept Bantu Authorities:

> We are now giving you the horse to ride (when I say 'we' I mean the Government); but do not forget while you are riding it that the Government will be behind with a big sjambok, to see that it goes, and you must not think or let the people think they can just get on that horse and go to sleep.

Today the Government still sits behind the Transkei Legislative Assembly with 'a big sjambok', and has reserved for itself all the necessary powers to wield it whenever necessary.

Mbeki analyses the economic situation in the Reserves, showing with facts and figures that they are designed purely as reservoirs of cheap labour for the White man's farms and industries and are completely unable to sustain the population that is expected to live in them. There is not enough land for the people, the production per acre is too small and there is no possibility of improvement in the foreseeable future so long as the territories are developed according to the policies of apartheid. Mbeki contrasts the yield per acre in the African reserves with that on the White man's farms—roughly about one-third—revealing that it is stark poverty that drives the African into the White man's areas to seek the supplementary income which he needs to keep himself and his family alive.

The consequences of African poverty in the Reserves extend into the sphere of health. African expectation of life, unlike that for Whites, is higher in the urban areas, where wages are higher, than in the rural areas. The fertility of African women in the Reserves is lower than that of women in the towns. Overall, the net rate of population increase among the Africans is lower than for any of the other racial groups in South Africa.

> A study of population increase rates points, thus, to a terrifying trend. It is fixed government policy to drive Africans from areas where higher standards of living prevail to those in which it is difficult to eke out even the barest necessities of life . . . The trend among Africans is therefore: *a high death rate among children; a low rate of increase in population; a low life expectancy among adults.*

In the light of long-term prospects, is this not tantamount to genocide?

How then has it been possible to get any section of the African people to accept the Bantustan bluff? Mbeki shows that the Government has relied on bribing the African chiefs and headmen with increased pay and power. Not all the chiefs have succumbed to these lures, and many have been jailed and exiled for standing with their people in opposition to government schemes. But the Matanzimas and their likes have been content to grab what they could for themselves, even trying to justify their actions by mouthing the slogans of African nationalism as if by helping themselves they were also helping their people.

Of all the studies of Bantustan, it is only in Mbeki's book that one is presented with the picture from the point of view of the African peasants who suffer under it, who have their stock limited by government decree, who are driven from their homes by the *diktat* of some petty tyrant, who are haled before a bush court and fined for some fancied slight to a government hireling, who are deprived of access to the land and herded as cheap labour into the new African towns and villages planned to serve the border industries.

And it is only in Mbeki's book that one is presented with the picture of African resistance, the peasant struggles from the Witzieshoek 'disturbances' of 1950 to the Pondoland revolt of 1960. Fascinating pages show how in some areas the popular revolt led to the complete destruction of Government authority and the establishment, even if only for a short while, of people's power. A people's parliament took decisions, people's courts dispensed justice. The Nationalist Government had to declare a state of emergency and mobilize the police and the army before it was able to restore 'order'. Ever concerned with the needs of revolutionary change in South Africa, Mbeki comments that peasant struggle offers in many ways a greater challenge to Nationalist rule than any with which it has been confronted so far. 'A proper blending of the peasant and worker struggles, therefore, coupled with skilful timing of joint action, is a matter which must engage the serious thinking of the leadership'.

It is Mbeki's close ties with the people, his years of experience of their problems and their struggles, which make his book so valuable. If the book as a whole is a bit disjointed and patchy, this is probably due to the circumstances under which it was produced, explained by Ruth First in her preface.

> This manuscript was written in fits and starts on deal tables in the kitchens of several African homes in Port Elizabeth townships; its progress was frequently interrupted by police raids, when the sheets of paper had to be hurriedly secreted, or moved away from where their writer lived and worked, for his and their safe-keeping. A great slice of this book was written on rolls of toilet paper when Mbeki served a two-month spell of solitary confinement, awaiting trial on a charge of making explosives . . . Some final portions of the book were written from Govan's last hiding-place in Johannesburg, where he was moved from Port Elizabeth after he was drafted by the African National Congress National Executive to direct A.N.C. campaigns from underground.

Mbeki was captured at Rivonia and is now serving his life sentence on Robben Island. What a commentary on South Africa, that the only place for the author of such a book, a man with so much to give to his country, should be in jail. It must be one of the resolutions to which the whole democratic movement pledges itself to see that that sentence is terminated for Mbeki and his colleagues as soon as possible.

SANCTIONS

The two books on South Africa and sanctions are *South Africa, Crisis for the West* by Colin and Margaret Legum, and *Sanctions Against South Africa*, a Penguin Special.

Part one of the Legums' book covers familiar ground—the power structure of Afrikanerdom, the nature of English-speaking society, the position and attitudes of the Africans and other Non-White groups, the failure of apartheid, the preparations of the Government for war. There is much new and interesting material, particularly on the workings of the South African lobby in London and America; also much thumb-sucking (such as in the chapter on 'African Nationalism and the Communists') and a few errors (the Indian Congress is *not* banned—page 202; the illegal Communist Party announced its existence in 1960, not 1963, and its leadership was not 'mainly in exile'—page 183; Matanzima's secretary is not Tshungwa but Tshunungwa—page 151; the protest strike against the inauguration of the Nationalist Republic was in 1961, not 1962—page 177).

The Legums write:

> The deadlock is clear. Neither side can break it. The white society can rule, but it cannot create the conditions it regards as essential to its own security. The Africans can challenge this rule, but they cannot break it. How solve the impasse?
>
> It is the argument of this book that the racial crisis in the Republic of South Africa cannot be resolved without international intervention. It is no longer a question of whether such intervention will take place, or even whether it should. It is already happening.
>
> Intervention cannot be halted, it can only mount. The only relevant question is what form it takes. The wrong kind can cast deep shadows over the Republic, over Africa and over the world. The right kind can prevent what in any event is likely to be an unhappy situation from becoming a tragedy: possibly one of the worst in this already violent century.

Why, one may ask, is South Africa a crisis only for the West? Why not for the East as well, or for the Afro-Asian countries? The very loading of the question reveals the Legums' interest in the situation—it is to keep South Africa within the imperialist sphere of influence. Failure by 'the West' to intervene now, either directly or through the United Nations, may mean the loss of South Africa to neutralism or even, horror of horrors, to 'the East'.

However, while one may disagree profoundly with the Legums' motives, one cannot disagree with their call for sanctions, which has also been voiced by the African National Congress and the leading Afro-Asian powers as well as the socialist countries and, indeed, the United Nations General Assembly itself. And perhaps the most valuable part of the Legums' book is that section of part two which answers one by one the usual arguments raised by the opponents of sanctions and shows clearly that only blind self-interest on the part of investors and White Supremacists stands in the way of effective international action.

Whether sanctions are feasible and practicable is a question most adequately answered by the Penguin *Sanctions Against South Africa*, which consists of the papers and resolutions presented at the international conference on economic sanctions against South Africa which took place in London in April 1964. In the words of the convenor of the conference, Ronald Segal, who also writes the introduction to the book:

> The conference has shown sanctions to be necessary, urgent, legal and practical, but likely to succeed only with the full co-operation of Britain and the United States. How the Governments of those two countries are to be drawn from their present policy of profitable neglect—under which they do nothing calculated to disturb white supremacy while allowing their trade and the investments of their citizens in South Africa to grow—must be the subject of not only sustained effort by African and Asian Governments, but of public pressure in Britain and the United States themselves.

The Books Reviewed:

Whither the Transkei? by W. A. Bellwood, Bailey Bros & Swinfen Ltd., 21s.

Bantustans: the Fragmentation of South Africa, by Christopher R. Hill. Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Race Relations, London, 9s. 6d.

South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt, by Govan Mbeki, Penguin Africa Library, 3s. 6d.

South Africa: Crisis for the West, by Colin and Margaret Legum, Pall Mall Press, (Paperback, 12s. 6d.).

Sanctions Against South Africa, Penguin Special, 4s. 6d.

WHAT OUR READERS WRITE

Kabiru Rabiu, Kano, Nigeria:

It is with deep emotion that I would like to extend my gratitude to African Communist, which is doing a great service to our people in educating them to have a thorough understanding of the economic, social and political situation in our great Continent.

For a considerable length of time we have suffered greatly from colonial exploitation, victimization, brutalities and intimidation. Looking into the concrete situation in our country, one is bound to draw the conclusion that our country, like most of the newly-independent countries of Africa, is still under foreign domination. But this fact is known only to a few individuals. With the publication of your journal I am sure many more Nigerians have now begun to understand the position of our country and will realize the need to wage another struggle in order to free our country economically.

I hope you will continue publishing this highly instructive journal so as to enlighten our people and improve their understanding of socialism. Communists in all countries faced prison and death because they have the ability to think for themselves and courage to say what they think. I hope you will broadly continue to explain your thoughts and help us to understand you and to eliminate our exploiters and their lackeys from the political and social life of our country.

A reader in Lesotho (Basutoland):

The AFRICAN COMMUNIST is a thrilling and militant magazine. . . . This is a crusade for freedom and peace.

J. A. Coughlan, Ireland:

May I say that I think it is of an impressively high standard.

Victor Author Hugo, Zanzibar:

Congratulations to the Editorial Board. The magazine is superb and informative. The book reviews by Sol Dabula and K. Nkosi were absorbing, and the document on Fascist Terror in South Africa was a revelation of the inhuman and disgraceful attitude of Verwoerd's regime and his Cabinet towards the South African patriotic freedom fighters. Can the world not terminate this brutal massacre? Verwoerd and his entire government are the most sinful and shameless creatures in the universe. To hell with the apartheid regime! Forward to socialism—Marxism-Leninism!

Two South African Students in Germany:

We find the AFRICAN COMMUNIST very educative and useful. It clarifies some of the questions we ask ourselves. We have started discussing *The Road to South African Freedom* in our circles and we are studying it very closely.

A. M. Yakasai, Nigeria:

You of the AFRICAN COMMUNIST are real comrades. I thank you very much and wish our ideas long life and victory in our common fight to free Africa. My best wishes to the Editorial Board.

L. Onyekwelu, Enugu, Nigeria:

I have always found AFRICAN COMMUNIST very interesting and dynamic for any progressive elements of this age.

R. Simon, England:

I should like to congratulate you on your journal and especially on the brilliant article in the current number (No. 18) on the First International. This is the best short history of our movement I have ever read. It is so good that I venture to point out one slight error; the Seventh Congress of the Communist International was in 1935, not 1937.

(*Terence Africanus* writes: Comrade Simon is of course correct, and I thank him for pointing out my error, a result of not having reference works available.)

E. Martin H. Tomkinson, Wales:

I consider it a magnificent publication. . . . My only regret is that it doesn't come out more frequently. However I fully realize the difficulties involved in publishing the AFRICAN COMMUNIST; perhaps a better idea would be to publish more pamphlets and reprints of articles. It would be good if you could cover more areas . . . . I was glad to see the article on the Congo in the latest issue. Another idea is to publish more material in French. . . . May the magazine go from strength to strength.

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